

Hispanic/Latino(a) Immigrant Acculturation and U.S. American Native English Speakers'
Intergroup Perceptions and Attitudes: Accommodation, Social Attraction, and Anxiety

By

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Hispanic/Latino(a) Immigrant Acculturation and U.S. American Native English Speakers'
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Abstract

Guided by communication accommodation theory (CAT; Giles, 1970, 2016) and the acculturation framework (Berry, 1980, 2011), this study used a 3 (social attributions: positive, negative, neutral) x 4 (accommodation/acculturation strategies) experimental design to explore English-speaking, U. S. participants' judgments of and behavioral intentions toward nonnative-English-speaking immigrant targets. The immigrant target's cultural and linguistic adaptation strategies were manipulated to create four accommodation/acculturation strategies: high accommodation/assimilation, accommodation/integration, nonaccommodation/separation, nonaccommodation/marginalization. Analysis explored the main and interaction effects of the independent variable conditions, as well as the indirect effect of these conditions on willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety.

Overall, the target's accommodation/acculturation strategy significantly affected participants' inferences about the target's motives, as well as their judgments of and willingness to engage the target, and their intergroup perceptions of the target's ethnolinguistic group. As expected, more assimilative and accommodative communicative and linguistic behaviors were associated with more positive participant responses than the nonaccommodative and separated and marginalized targets. The main effects of the social attribution conditions, as well as the social attribution by accommodation/acculturation interaction effect, was non-significant.

Theoretically, the current study advances intergroup and intercultural communication research by demonstrating the complementary functions of both communication accommodation theory and the acculturation framework. Incorporating CAT into the acculturation framework illuminates the ways in which variations in the degree of psychological identification with home

and host cultures may be manifest in communication behaviors. The current study also contributes to the theoretical development of inferred motive, extending this construct into an otherwise unstudied context between native and nonnative English speakers. Lastly, the indirect effects of perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety suggest mechanisms through which interactions between native and nonnative English speakers can be improved.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

“The co-presence of liberal discourses concerning immigrants and the nation’s exclusionary practices of nativism speak to the ambivalent form of national identity in the United States, an identity that entails a perpetual vacillation between xenophobia and xenophilia, hospitality and hostility.”

– Ali Behdad, *A Forgetful Nation*

Human migration around the globe is at an all-time high. According to recent estimates from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2017), 258 million people currently reside outside their country of birth, an increase of 49% from 2000. The Migration Policy Institute (2017) reports that nearly 50 million immigrants, or an estimated one-fifth of the global migrant population, reside in the United States. However, global attitudes toward immigration are not always supportive toward migrant communities. Indeed, several countries, including the United States, are grappling with outright hostility toward immigrants. With the foreign-born U.S. population at a historic high (Tavernise, 2018), understanding the dynamics between immigrant groups and the dominant cultural group in the United States is crucial for peace, cooperation, and integration to be achieved.

The topic of immigration and immigration policy is salient throughout the United States and research suggests that Americans’ current attitudes toward immigration are mixed. A recent survey conducted by the Pew Research Center (Tyson, 2018) indicates that while overall attitudes toward immigration are improving, these attitudes are sharply divided along partisan lines. Weekly polling data collected by the Public Religion Research Institute (Cooper, Cox, Lienesch, & Jones, 2016) found that the majority of Americans (74%) who frequently or

sometimes come into contact with immigrants who speak little to no English are not concerned by their lack of English language abilities, while 26% are concerned that immigrants do not speak English adequately. In addition, the Pew Research Center (Stokes, 2017) found that 70% of U.S. adults perceived the ability to speak the English language as an integral component of a “true American” identity.

While these figures indicate the importance of immigrant English competence to native English speakers in the United States, a significant number of immigrants speak English as a nonnative language, and often with a nonnative accent. For example, the Census Bureau (2015a, 2015b) indicates that over 60 million Americans speak a language other than English at home. Notably, Cooper and colleagues (2016) also report that 50% of U.S. Americans viewed the growing number of immigrants as “strengthening American society,” while 34% viewed immigrants as “threatening traditional American customs and values.” These dominant attitudes about immigration and acculturation bear significant implications regarding language use and cultural identity, two of the most salient markers of intergroup boundaries (Dragojevic, 2016; Rakić, Steffens, & Mummendey, 2011; Zhang & Giles, 2018).

Specifically, due to these tensions surrounding language use and American identity, research concludes that many nonnative English speakers experience stigma, prejudice, and discrimination as a result of U.S. Americans’ immigration and language attitudes (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; Lippi-Green, 2012). Importantly, the current presidential administration’s stance on immigration, and President Trump’s specific, derisive comments about immigrants and their countries of origin (Davis, Stolberg, & Kaplan, 2018), have fueled anti-immigrant and nationalist rhetoric (Hayden, 2018). The administration’s immigration agenda and policies, seen by many as state-sanctioned discrimination and violence, lend significant institutional support for U.S.

Americans' negative intergroup attitudes.

In the United States, despite the fact that there is no federally-recognized official language, globalization and institutional support has led to the *de facto* establishment of English as the *lingua franca*, wherein English is the language associated with government, judicial, and educational systems, as well as the media. This *lingua franca* designation carries assumptions about the status, power, authority, and “correctness” of English (Imamura, Zhang, & Harwood, 2011). More precisely, Standard American English (SAE) is the specific idealized variety, reflecting the English of the upper middle class that is taught in the education system and valued by other powerful institutions (Lippi-Green, 2012). SAE has been deemed prestigious, proper, and appropriate, and is used as the reference point with which all other spoken varieties of English are compared, often unfavorably (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). As a result, the ethnolinguistic vitality of SAE communicates to immigrant communities that not only is there a specific language, English, that they are expected to use, there is also a particular accent within that language that garners social prestige, status, and institutional support.

These comparisons and evaluations based on language variety represent *language attitudes*, an area of research at the intersections of communication studies, social psychology, and sociolinguistics. Language attitudes research contends that we consider a speaker's language variety, such as language, dialect, and/or accent, when judging and evaluating them (Dragojevic, Berglund, & Blauvelt, 2018). Indeed, research consistently demonstrates that those who speak English with a foreign accent are perceived to have a lower social status, be less educated and intelligent (Dragojevic & Giles, 2016), and less credible (Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010) than native English speakers. Consequently, nonnative English speakers, particularly those with a foreign

accent, report heightened feelings of stigma and prejudice based on their accent and language use (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). Native English speakers' language attitudes significantly influence foreign-accented speakers, not only in their functional and psychological wellbeing (McKay-Semmler & Kim, 2014), but also in material outcomes, such as equitable access to housing and hiring opportunities. In fact, experimental studies suggest that employees with nonnative (i.e., Indian, Mandarin, or Latino) accents were given poorer performance evaluations (Wang, Arndt, Singh, & Biernat, 2009) or less frequently recommended for hire (Hansen & Dovidio, 2016) compared to employees with native, Standard American English or British accents. Particularly important for the current study is the implication that speakers with foreign accents are less likely to be seen as U.S. citizens, with recent reports of individuals being stopped or interrogated by law enforcement officials, ultimately because their citizenship status is questioned. (Chappell, 2019).

With the simultaneous rise in human migration and tensions surrounding majority members' linguistic identities and immigration and acculturation attitudes, increased scholarly attention is focused on improving dynamics between these social groups. Here, communication studies and social psychology perspectives are uniquely poised to explain and predict acculturative orientations and behaviors, both from minority and majority group members, which in turn might assist in the introduction of more effective policy and practices for integrating immigrant and dominant communities. There are two groups addressed in the current study. The first group is U.S. American, native English speakers, who represent the dominant cultural and linguistic group in the United States. The second group is Hispanic/Latino immigrants who speak English as a foreign language and with a foreign accent, who represent a relevant immigrant, ethnolinguistic minority group in the United States. Guided by two robust and complementary

theories, (i.e., the acculturation framework and communication accommodation theory), the current study seeks, broadly, to investigate native English-speaking, U.S. Americans' attitudes toward both a specific nonnative English-speaking, Hispanic/Latino immigrant target and Hispanic/Latino immigrants as a social group.

Developed by Berry (1980), the bi-dimensional acculturation framework maps the strength of identification a sojourner feels with home and host culture. As a result, there are four major acculturation orientations and associated strategies that immigrants might employ as a means of adapting to the new cultural environment: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (Zhang & Giles, 2018). Acculturation strategy bears consequences on the dominant group's intergroup attitudes toward immigrants (Imamura & Zhang, 2014) and the dynamic between dominant and immigrant communities. For example, dominant group members expect immigrants to assimilate (i.e., abandon their cultural heritage and fully participate in the dominant host culture), while immigrants indicate that integration (i.e., embracing the dominant host culture while maintaining their cultural heritage) is a more preferable strategy with increased favorable outcomes (van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006). These incongruent preferences from host and immigrant communities highlight the need for acculturation to be treated as an interactive process, allowing examination of the dominant social forces that enable or constrain immigrant communities' acculturation strategies.

In addition to the acculturative framework, communication accommodation theory (CAT) provides robust theoretical insights into the processes of communicating identity, negotiating social distance, and pursuing objectives during interactions. Given the theory's intergroup features (Palomares, Giles, Soliz, & Gallois, 2016) and specific attention to language and communicative behaviors, CAT offers a useful theoretical underpinning in operationalize an

individual's specific adjustments during the process of cultural, communicative, and linguistic adaptation and the relational and identity processes of such adjustments. CAT expressly outlines the strategies through which an individual might adapt their communicative behaviors and language use as a function of which identity, be it personal, social, or cultural, is made salient and their overall goals for the interaction. CAT research has been quite thorough in theorizing the relationship between language and power in communication, where groups with ethnolinguistic vitality are regarded as high status and valuable, indicating that others should adapt to that language variety. Many dominant group members expect immigrants to assimilate into the dominant culture (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007; van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). Through a communication accommodation theoretical lens, dominant group members' expectations that linguistic minorities will primarily use English, especially in public settings and during interactions with native English speakers, reasserts the status held by the English language and the ethnolinguistic power associated with native English speakers. However, under CAT's umbrella, adjusting individuals' nonnative accents could be interpreted as a marker of ethnolinguistic identity and pride.

Since comparisons and evaluations based on language variety have been theorized to involve social categorization and stereotyping, language attitudes fall squarely into the realm of intergroup communication (Dragojevic, 2016). Indeed, prior research supports the notion that accent can activate intergroup hierarchies and social categorization processes. In an experimental design, Kinzler, Dupoux, and Spelke (2012) found that children as young as ten months old demonstrated ingroup preference for native-accented speakers. That is, children were biased in favor of accents associated with the dominant linguistic group. When given the opportunity, children in the study were less likely to interact with or share toys with the foreign-accented

child (Kinzler et al., 2012). Dragojevic et al. (2018) found that participants from three different ethnolinguistic groups (i.e., Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani) varied in their ability to accurately categorize recordings of standard and nonstandard accent guises, and that the standard accent was evaluated more favorably when categorized correctly. Taken together, results of these studies suggest that social categorization plays an important role in the language attitudes process, wherein ingroup categorizations lead to cooperation and positive evaluation, and outgroup categorization leads to avoidance and denigrating evaluation.

Research on language attitudes has enjoyed relatively sustained empirical attention and vigor, and this empirical attention is increasingly focused on the social attributions theorized to undergird language attitudes toward nonnative speakers and foreign accents. Evaluations of accents and speakers, whether favorable or hostile, are driven by the stereotypes, value, and level of prestige that have been socially attributed to both the accent itself and accented individuals (Lambert, 1967). The messages a person hears about foreign accents (and those who speak with such accents), whether from the media, the education system, or from interpersonal contact, influence attitudes toward different language varieties. In fact, these social attributions of foreign accents can be manipulated to prime participants to think about particular attributes of foreign accents and foreign-accented speakers. A recent experimental design (Montgomery & Zhang, 2018) found that those participants who read a paragraph about the negative social stereotypes and attributions of foreign accents (i.e., that they are difficult to understand and lead to discomfort while communicating) reported lower social attraction to a moderately-accented Spanish target speaker, which was then negatively associated with intergroup communication anxiety, a negative predictor of willingness to communicate.

Given the powerful influence of language use in intergroup dynamics, the current study investigates native English speakers' attitudes and behaviors toward a nonnative English-speaking, Hispanic/Latina target. The proposed study examines the effects of exposure to either a negative or positive social attribution message about nonnative English speakers and foreign accents on native English speakers' attitudes and behaviors toward speakers with foreign accents. Specifically, both negative and positive social attributions of accent potentially prime the individual to evaluate the foreign-accented speaker in a manner more consistent with the stereotype-relevant characteristics.

In addition, the current study seeks to test the effects of the target's unique accommodative and acculturative strategy. While CAT research has paid considerable attention to the adjustments that speakers make to their language use (e.g., code switching) and accent (e.g., upward convergence toward a more prestigious accent variety), little empirical research has addressed native English speakers' perceptions of the accommodative and nonaccommodative moves embedded within the acculturative orientations from foreign-accented speakers. As noted by Zhang and Giles (2018), the concepts of accommodation (i.e., communication adjustments) and acculturation (i.e., cultural adaptation) are essentially consistent. Each term refers to the act of adapting one's behaviors in response to the context of the interaction. In the cultural adaptation process, the modifications that an immigrant might make reflect the degree to which they identify with host and heritage culture, echoing the identity and social distance negotiations that are core to accommodation processes. In addition, each theoretical perspective considers the role of social forces and cultural norms as well as individual dispositions in shaping what behaviors an individual adjusts and the degree to which they are adjusted. Thus, these intersecting theoretical approaches provide a useful perspective from which to understand the

ways in which members of the dominant cultural group react to and evaluate immigrants who are adapting to a new cultural environment. By combining CAT and acculturation perspectives, the current study offers additional explanations for native-English-speaking, U.S. Americans' perceptions of and behavioral intentions toward nonnative-English-speaking immigrant outgroups. The acculturation framework represents the individual's identification with home and host culture, which echoes the function of identity in shaping the way one communicates. On the other hand, the CAT perspective facilitates an explicit focus on language and communicative actions as the sites of the adjustment, in that a person's language use and communication are behavioral manifestations of their identification with home and host culture. Furthermore, CAT is particularly useful in theorizing the relational and identity outcomes of such adjustments.

In the current study, all adjustments are conceptualized and operationalized from the recipient's perspective. Put another way, regardless of the speaker's reasoning, motivations, intentions, or actual behaviors, it is the listener's perceptions that drive their evaluations and attitudes. Hence, the current study conceptualizes accommodation as adjustments that a person makes that are perceived as necessary, desirable, and appropriate for an interaction. Specifically, the current study manipulates the target to be accommodative in one condition, and highly accommodative in another. The primary difference is that the accommodative target does what she can to adjust her communication when it is necessary, while the highly accommodative target goes above and beyond to make sure that her communication is like that of native English speakers.

Comparatively, nonaccommodation is conceptualized as adjustments that are perceived to be ineffective, unsuccessful, or otherwise negatively impact the interaction. The current study explores nonaccommodation, or communicative adjustments that are perceived to not meet the

needs of the interaction, thereby being evaluated as unsatisfying, rude, or inconsiderate (Gasiorek, 2016). In two of the experimental conditions, the target is manipulated to exhibit nonaccommodative behaviors, either by refusal to adjust her behaviors, as in the separation condition, or by incapacity to adjust, as in the marginalization condition. In general, research suggests that nonaccommodation is perceived negatively and leads to less positive evaluations of the speaker and their associated groups, lower contact quality, and decreased relational solidarity (Gasiorek, 2016). Importantly, nonaccommodation is nearly always evaluated more negatively than overaccommodation, as overaccommodative moves indicate that the speaker is willing to adapt but may be overzealous. Comparatively, nonaccommodation suggests that the speaker is unwilling to adapt their behaviors, regardless of what the recipient may need or expect.

While the theoretical approach has evolved from its original framework to include listener perspectives (Thakerar, Giles, & Cheshire, 1982), CAT research is increasingly focused on *inferred motive*, the recipient's perceptions of the intentions and reasoning that drives the speaker's behaviors, as an important explanatory mechanism in nonaccommodation processes. In this burgeoning stage of research on inferred motive, native English speakers' perceptions of a nonnative English speaker's intentions and cognitive or affective motives, have not yet been empirically tested, thus leaving unexplored the varied ways in which behaviors are evaluated when they are deemed intentional, friendly, rude, and/or incomprehensible. A key contribution of the current study is this investigation of native English speakers' inferences about nonnative speakers' motives and intentions when speaking English, especially as they pertain to the nonnative English speaker's foreign accent.

At another point of theoretical intersection, acculturation and accommodation may be exacerbated by intergroup power relations, wherein the dominant group expects any group with

lower status or power to adapt (i.e., upwardly converge) toward the prestigious variety. Given the *lingua franca* status and social prestige afforded to the English language and the SAE accent and dialect, members of this (dominant) linguistic group would expect linguistic minorities to converge to the dominant norms. Lippi-Green (2012) argues that native English speakers often do not equally participate in the communication process when interacting with nonnative English speakers. As Lippi-Green (2012) explains, native English speakers believe that since they occupy a dominant linguistic position, they are excused from sharing in the communicative process, placing the burden of creating understanding and shared meaning on the nonnative English speaker. Hence, the current study provides a novel approach through which to capture the dominant group's perceptions of the available acculturation strategies. Will assimilative behaviors be seen as appropriate and necessary, or will such behaviors be seen as excessive? Will integrative behaviors be viewed as insufficient, or not meeting the needs and expectations of the dominant cultural group?

With its focus on ethnolinguistic identity, cultural, communicative, and linguistic adjustments, and inferred motive, the current study provides a context that is both theoretically and practically meaningful. The experimental design might further illuminate the connections between accommodation and acculturation, especially regarding a target immigrant group of immediate consequence for members of the dominant U.S. cultural and linguistic group. Research indicates a disparity in the strategy that immigrant groups intend to employ, and the strategy perceived by dominant group members (van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). In other words, attempts to integrate (the strategy that immigrant groups tend to prefer) are viewed as separation, or that immigrant groups are not doing enough to conform to the dominant culture. This incongruence could reflect the accommodative expectations held by dominant group members.

When considering that the majority (70%) of Americans believed an important connection exists between the English language and American identity (Stokes, 2017), a nonnative English speaker attempting to integrate their linguistic heritage while also learning and speaking English (e.g., maintaining their foreign-accented speech) might trigger a perceived threat to the dominant position of English in the eyes of the native English speaker. Here, the discrepancy in the immigrant speaker's intent and the U.S. American recipient's perceptions echoes both the misaligned inferred motives found by Gasiorek and Giles (2012) and the incongruent acculturation perceptions reported by van Oudenhoven and colleagues (2006).

The current study features an immigrant target who is Hispanic, Latina, and speaks Spanish as first language. Here, the label "Hispanic" represents nationality, lineage, or heritage related to Spain, Spanish colonies, or Spanish-speaking countries, while the term "Latino/a" represents ethnicity or cultural heritage stemming from Latin America. A person identifying as Hispanic or Latino can be of any race. It is important to recognize that these labels are imperfect, and there is considerable debate surrounding how to measure and differentiate racial and ethnic identity among Hispanics and Latinos, as members of these groups themselves vary in how they identify with each categorization. Nonetheless, Hispanics and Latinos comprise a large group of the U.S. population that continues to grow (McKay-Semmler & Kim, 2014). Approximately 17.6% of the U.S. population identifies as Hispanic and/or Latino, of which many are native Spanish speakers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015a, 2015b). Although many ethnocultural groups throughout history have been the target of the U.S. government's vilification of immigrant communities, Hispanics and Latinos are frequent and recurring recipients of the political ire surrounding immigration. The Pew Hispanic Center reports that in 2015, 34% of all Hispanics (48% of Hispanic adults) living in the United States were foreign-born (Flores, 2017). While the

population of Hispanic/Latinos in the United States continues to rise, shifts in political rhetoric and attitudes regarding immigration and multiculturalism indicate tensions between immigrant and host populations. By featuring an immigrant target from the Hispanic/Latino ethnolinguistic and cultural group, more precise intergroup and intercultural dynamics between both groups can be evaluated.

Previous studies on accent evaluations either make no mention of the speaker's ethnolinguistic identity or have asked the participants to report the ethnolinguistic group to which they think the speaker belongs. However, prior research acknowledges that participants are often inaccurate in categorizing foreign accents (Dragojevic et al., 2018). These errors in categorization limit the implications and findings that can be drawn from the results, as the language attitudes demonstrated by the participant may be inaccurately targeted at a group not intended by the study design. Due to the role of social categorization in the language attitudes process, the current study discloses the target's ethnolinguistic heritage (i.e., Hispanic/Latina) and first language (i.e., Spanish) to the participants, thus controlling the social categorization of the speaker and ensuring that the intergroup outcomes related to the target reflect those of the appropriate social and linguistic groups.

In summary, with immigration around the world at an all-time high, increased scholarly attention is focused on improving intergroup contact and relationships in immigrant-receiving countries. Central to these processes are the concepts of ethnolinguistic identity, language use, and acculturation, where the dominant group members' attitudes toward nonnative-English-speaking immigrants shapes language policy. Research indicates that interactions between speakers from different linguistic backgrounds bear significant weight on various communicative and social psychological outcomes, but there is little understanding of the intergroup processes

that shape and reinforce native English speakers' attitudes toward and evaluations of foreign-accented speakers.

Extending both language attitudes and acculturation literature, the current study integrates CAT into the acculturation framework to predict the dominant group's evaluations of an immigrant target's unique accommodative and acculturative orientation. CAT is used in the current study in two primary ways. First, the strategies outlined by the acculturation framework are manipulated to imply a respective accommodative strategy that compliments the acculturation that the target is employing. This embedded accommodation strategy centers the acculturation strategy on the target's specific language use and communication behaviors. By extension, the experimental manipulations of the target's accommodation and acculturation strategy is also positioned to influence the participants' perceptions of social attraction and intergroup communication anxiety toward the target.

Second, the study measures the participant's perceptions of the target's accommodation, or their opinions regarding whether the target did enough, too little, or too much to adapt her behaviors in response to native English speakers and U.S. culture. Perceived accommodation is thus a dependent variable and an explanatory variable between the target's strategy and participants' behavioral intentions toward the target. Positioning accommodative adjustments as a predictor and perceived accommodation as an intervening variable reinforces CAT's capacity to explain the relational and intergroup consequences of (non)adjusting individuals' communicative and linguistic behaviors.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

“Language brings with it an identity and a culture, or at least the perception of it. A shared language says, ‘We’re the same.’

A language barrier says, ‘We’re different.’

- Trevor Noah, *Born a Crime: Stories from a South African Childhood*

Language is an invaluable tool used to communicate identity and negotiate identification between varying social groups. When an individual speaks, the features of their language use, such as the language itself, their dialect, and their accent, provide social cues that the listener uses to categorize, understand, and learn about the speaker (Dragojevic et al., 2013). However, language use is not absent of power dynamics, which are shaped by the ethnolinguistic vitality and institutional power afforded to certain linguistic groups and denied to others. Hence, the attributions that dominant group members associate with various non-standard and nonnative language groups have serious consequences for linguistic minorities, such as stigmatization, prejudice, and discrimination. In the United States, native English speakers, as those who draft, pass, and enforce laws, largely shape the language and acculturative ideologies that give birth to immigration and language policy. This institutional control, coupled with the monolingual world view that is frequent in the United States (Saiz & Zoido, 2005), leads to acculturation expectations of immigrant communities that are unfair, unrealistic, and detrimental to immigrants’ sense of linguistic and cultural identity.

Given the intercultural- and intergroup-relevant features of communication accommodation theory (CAT), a dual application of CAT and the acculturation framework provides a novel theoretical explanation of how immigrants’ accommodative and acculturative

orientations influence the host country's dominant group members' attitudes and behaviors toward immigrant groups. In particular, the linguistic adjustments that immigrants exhibit might have unique effects on native English speakers' attitudes toward linguistic minority group members. Furthermore, the social discourse and attributions that shape dominant group members' attitudes toward linguistic minorities bear potentially significant consequence on macro-level systems, such as immigration and language policy, and micro-level processes, such as intergroup contact between dominant and minority language group members. Hence, the current study examines the direct and indirect effects of social attribution about accents and a Hispanic/Latina immigrant target's accommodative and acculturative orientation on native English speakers' intergroup attitudes and behaviors toward the specific immigrant target and Hispanic/Latino immigrants in general.

In this chapter, the review of literature focuses first on language attitudes research and its connection to social attributions and stereotyping of nonnative English speakers. The four dependent variables, willingness to communicate, willingness to accommodate, and affective attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino immigrants, and intergroup communication anxiety toward Hispanic/Latino immigrants, are included in this initial discussion of social attributions about nonnative English speakers. To provide further explanation of these intergroup attitudes and behaviors, the review of literature moves to the major theories that guide the current study: the acculturation framework and CAT. Then, the literature review explores the possible mediating roles of perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. The literature review concludes by considering the possible confounding variables, specifically ideologies about immigration and host member acculturation orientations.

Language Attitudes and Social Attributions about Nonnative English Speakers

Language plays an essential, even primary, role in the ways in which people assess and form impressions of others during social interactions (Dragojevic et al., 2013; Rakić, et al., 2011). Since the foundational studies carried out by Labov (1966) and Lambert (1967), the field of language attitudes research has flourished. Drawing on language's anthropological, sociological, and psychological processes, language attitudes research investigates individuals' reactions to and evaluations of different linguistic varieties (Dragojevic et al., 2013).

Language use is inherently variable and changes due to both individual nuances and larger systemic forces. Across the globe, different languages are spoken in different regions, and within those language families exist multiple dialects, or variations based on grammar and vocabulary use (Dragojevic et al., 2013). Furthermore, within those languages and dialects, there are multiple regional accents, or manners of pronunciation (Giles, 1970). Scholars have theorized, from an evolutionary standpoint, that a person's accent may have been used, either in absence of or supplementary to visual cues, to distinguish between in-group and out-group members (Gluszek & Hansen, 2013). Indeed, research shows that individuals notice "foreign" accents (i.e., accents that are different from our own) (Flege, 1984; Munro, Derwing, & Burgess, 2003), meaning we are quick to draw social boundaries between those we categorize as linguistically similar to us and those deemed linguistically distant.

Language attitudes research consistently demonstrates that speakers with foreign or nonnative accents are evaluated more negatively compared to speakers with native accents. In general, research summarizes perceptions of accents along two dimensions: status and solidarity. Nonnative speakers tend to be rated lower on status markers, such as intelligence and competence, and solidarity markers, such as friendliness and warmth, when compared to native

speakers (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). Overall, results of language attitudes research highlight the stigmatized nature of speaking English with a nonnative accent and the pervasiveness and social acceptance of language bias in U.S. culture (Dragojevic et al., 2013; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; Lippi-Green, 2012).

The role of social attribution in language attitudes. Increasing theoretical and empirical attention is focused on the mutual constitution of language ideologies and language attitudes. That is to say, language ideologies influence a society's attitudes toward nonnative and nonstandard speakers, and these attitudes trickle down to interpersonal interactions between speakers from different language groups (Dragojevic et al., 2013). Hence, our evaluations of nonnative speakers are influenced by the information we see, read, and hear about speakers with nonnative accents and their associated linguistic and cultural groups. Montgomery and Zhang (2018) found that when participants were primed into thinking about negative characteristics attributed to nonnative speakers (e.g., that they are difficult to understand), the participants reported more negative interpersonal and intergroup orientations toward a target speaker and the speaker's larger ethnolinguistic group. The participants who heard the negative attributions about nonnative speakers reported less social attraction and increased anxiety toward an accented speaker, as well as decreased willingness to communicate with the speaker (Montgomery & Zhang, 2018).

However, as attention to social attributions about accented groups continues to grow, it is important to include the positive attributions of having a nonnative accent that are often ignored or overlooked. First, there has been a reversal in scientific and educational attitudes toward bilingualism, which was once viewed as a disability or mental incapacity (Lozano, 2018). Today, increasing research demonstrates that bilingualism leads to increased cognitive and

psychological fitness throughout the lifespan (Bialystok, 2011). Second, language minority groups are increasingly vocal in their assertion that their accent is a marker of cultural and linguistic identity, not a sign of decreased linguistic competence nor an impediment to communication effectiveness. This embrace of bilingualism and accentedness by academic and scientific communities, coupled with ethnolinguistic minorities' rejection of the accent stigma inflicted on their linguistic groups, signals that highlighting the positive attributions of nonnative accents might lead to an improvement in the intergroup attitudes of dominant group members.

Interpersonal and intergroup consequences of language attitudes. As emphasized by acculturative literature, the role of dominant group members cannot be removed from immigrant groups' acculturation process. Additionally, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) implored that more positive intervening factors in intergroup contact be investigated. As such, the current study focuses on the intergroup outcomes associated with a specific immigrant target's acculturative and accommodative behavior. In particular, the participant's (i.e., a dominant group member) willingness to communicate and accommodate to the target, as well as their attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino immigrants in general, are important consequences that bear significant implications for future interactions between dominant and minorities linguistic groups.

Host members' role in the communication and acculturation process. As demonstrated by acculturation and intergroup contact literature, positive contact with host society members is a significant predictor of immigrant's acculturative success and overall well-being (Zhang & Goodson, 2011). It is through communication with host society members that immigrants and sojourners learn and practice a new language, become accustomed to cultural practices and behaviors, and develop interpersonal networks (Imamura & Zhang, 2014). Intergroup scholars have long sought to understand the conditions under which dominant group members are more

willing to interact with immigrant outgroup members. Research indicates that host members' willingness to communicate and willingness to accommodate are important constructs worth investigating in intergroup dynamics. The current study seeks to understand the conditions that promote dominant group members' willingness to communicate with and accommodate to Hispanic/Latino immigrants and sojourners.

Willingness to communicate. In a broad sense, willingness to communicate is the likelihood that, when given the freedom to do so, a person will choose to communicate with another (McCroskey, 1992). During intercultural and intergroup contexts, willingness to communicate is less concerned with one's inclinations to communicate with a particular individual, and more attentive to how social and cultural identities influence interpersonal communication behaviors (Harwood, Giles, & Palomares, 2005). Thus, the current study conceptualizes willingness to communicate as a behavioral exhibition of perceived shared identity or perceived similarity between interactants (Imamura & Zhang, 2014).

Dominant group members' willingness to communicate with immigrants and sojourners bears significant consequences on immigrant and sojourners' cultural adaptation (Imamura & Zhang, 2014). However, the primary focus of research on willingness to communicate over the past 20 years has been on second language learners' (L2) willingness to speak a foreign language (Zarrinabadi & Tanbakooei, 2016), particularly in the context of international students in higher education settings. As a consequence, much of what is known about native English speakers' willingness to communicate with nonnative English speakers is confined to higher education settings, such as student-student (Campbell, 2015; Imamura & Zhang, 2014; Lin & Rancer, 2003; Lin, Rancer, & Lim, 2003) or teacher-student (Miller & Pearson, 2013; Roach & Olaniran, 2001) interactions. Given the specificity of the current study, that is, a native English speaker's

willingness to communicate with a Hispanic/Latina, nonnative-English-speaking immigrant target, provides much needed insight into the dynamics between dominant groups and a relevant ethnolinguistic minority immigrant group.

Willingness to accommodate. Willingness to accommodate goes beyond a person's willingness to come into contact and communicate with others to include the adaptations and adjustments that a person would be willing to make to their own communication behaviors in response to their communication partner. As exemplified by prior research, dominant group attitudes toward immigrant acculturation and language use plays a key role in the immigrant adaptation (Imamura & Zhang, 2014). However, research also indicates that the acculturative, and by extension, communicative, burden falls almost exclusively on the immigrant or nonnative English speaker (Lippi-Green, 2012). By investigating dominant group members' willingness to accommodate their communication to a Hispanic/Latina immigrant, the current study provides means of identifying optimal conditions and proposing possible interventions that encourage accommodation from dominant group members.

As demonstrated by previous research, language attitudes, particularly the social attribution processes that undergird these attitudes, occupy an important role in the dynamic between immigrant groups and members of the dominant culture. Equally important for these intercultural and intergroup dynamics are the behaviors that immigrant communities employ as a function of their cultural identification, whether with their heritage culture, the host culture, or both. Here, the acculturation framework and CAT provide guiding theoretical structure to explain the intercultural intergroup communication dynamics between native English speakers (i.e., members of the dominant cultural and linguistic group) and a Hispanic/Latina immigrant target.

Theoretical Perspectives

Acculturation framework. The field of cross-cultural psychology has demonstrated that culture bears a significant influence on individuals' attitudes and behaviors (Berry, 1997). As this area of research grew, scholars began to theorize about what happens when a person from a particular culture migrates permanently, either voluntarily or involuntarily, to a new cultural environment and comes in contact with members of the host culture (Berry, 1997). The term acculturation refers to a cultural change (either individual- or group-level) that results from continuous, first-hand contact between two different cultural groups (Berry, 1997). This definition suggests that when immigrants and sojourners arrive in a new host cultural environment, mutual changes might occur over time as the two cultural groups come into sustained contact with one another. However, research demonstrates that it has typically been the non-dominant group (i.e., the immigrants and sojourners) that endures the most changes, due to the political, social, and economic power held by the dominant group (Berry, 1997) and underlying assimilationist ideology (Berry, 2006).

Communication is a key factor in acculturation, as contact with majority groups and communication with host nationals has significant effects on immigrants' well-being, as evidenced by the major body of empirical studies in intercultural communication research that have explored acculturation processes (Arasaratnam, 2015). As immigrants interact with their new cultural environment, including communicating with host nationals, they might find that the values, beliefs, and norms associated with their home culture are similar to those in the new culture. Often, however, the cultural traditions are incongruent, which results in the immigrant needing to negotiate between the two traditions. Consequently, both the majority and minority group members may experience acculturative stress, referring to the physical, social, or

psychological outcomes that result from intercultural contact (van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998).

To alleviate acculturative stress, individuals must employ acculturation strategies to cope. An immigrant's acculturation strategy can be understood along two dimensions: cultural maintenance, the degree to which heritage cultural identity and characteristics are considered to be important and necessary to maintain, and host contact and participation, the degree to which the individual feels compelled to come into contact with dominant group members and participate in larger (dominant) social systems and institutions (Berry, 1997). Thus, when two cultural perspectives are in conflict, the individual must decide if the particular perspective is central to maintaining one's heritage cultural identity and characteristics, as well as the perspective's role in promoting relationships with the dominant culture.

The resulting model identifies four orthogonal acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 1980). Assimilation occurs when an individual pursues low maintenance of the heritage culture and high participation in the host culture. In the acculturation process, sojourners who adopt this strategy tend to seek daily participation in the host culture and interactions with dominant group members while simultaneously shedding the cultural practices and language tied to their heritage culture (Berry, 1997). Separation indicates there is high maintenance of the heritage culture and low participation in or avoidance of the host culture. Sojourners who employ this strategy typically avoid contact with dominant group members and participate in the host culture as little as possible, preferring to maintain their cultural practices and native language, usually through exclusive contact with ethnolinguistic and cultural ingroup members (Berry, 1997). Integration is the simultaneous high maintenance of the heritage culture and high participation in the host

culture. Through this strategy, sojourners retain their native language and heritage cultural practices while also frequently interacting with dominant group members and adopting the norms and practices of the new cultural environment (Berry, 1997). Finally, marginalization results from low maintenance of the heritage culture and low participation in the host culture, and often occurs as a consequence of intense acculturative stress and confusion (Berry, 1997).

Marginalized individuals typically avoid interactions with both members of the host culture and also their ethnolinguistic and cultural ingroup members, instead spending large amounts of time alone (Berry, 1997).

Empirical support for the acculturation framework has been consistent (Arasaratnam, 2015). Research on the four acculturation strategies has found that each strategy has varying antecedents and outcomes, both from the perspective of majority, dominant host groups and minority, immigrant groups. In general, dominant group members prefer, and even expect, immigrants to assimilate, while integration is the desired strategy for non-dominant (in the current study, immigrant) groups (van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; van Oudenhoven et al., 2006).

Research suggests that the integration strategy affords the individual with a vital sense of agency in constructing a new cultural identity. Semi-structured interviews with business-owning Chinese immigrants in Australia (Liu, 2011) found that, especially in terms of establishing and expanding their clientele, participants felt that their “hybridized” identity allowed them to cater to both Australians and Chinese patrons (Liu, 2011, p. 410). Also, respondents substantiated the idea that cultural identity is an ongoing, fluid, and negotiated process, not a fixed and static endpoint, as they were continually performing integrative behaviors like consuming Australian media while also maintaining connections to other ethnic Chinese (Liu, 2011). Further, McKay-Semmler and Kim (2014) found that Hispanic youth who reported increased contact and

familiarity with the dominant culture (conceptually equivalent to integration) experienced improved psychological health outcomes such as sense of belonging and satisfaction with life in the United States, as well as improved school adjustment and academic performance. In both studies, integration processes may serve to establish a positive feedback loop, wherein positive contact with the dominant group improves positive self-image, encouraging more participation in the dominant culture.

However, despite the positive outcomes of the integration strategy, research consistently demonstrates that dominant groups prefer assimilation. In a 1998 experiment that included the perspectives of two immigrant populations (i.e., Moroccans and Turks) and the majority group (i.e., Dutch), van Oudenhoven and colleagues found that both Turkish and Moroccan immigrants positively evaluated and highly identified with the integration strategy. Comparatively, the Dutch reported positive attitudes toward both assimilation and integration strategies. Importantly, results of this experiment also indicate that the majority of Dutch participants perceived that most immigrants enact a separation strategy, the strategy that was evaluated the least positively by the Dutch, despite the reported preference for integration reported by the two immigrant groups. More recently, van Oudenhoven and Hofstra (2011) found that attachment style may play an important role in shaping dominant group's dispositions toward immigrants. Results of the experiment found that Dutch participants with more secure attachment (i.e., more trusting, more positive self-image) had more positive reactions toward an integrated Surinamese immigrant. Conversely, dismissive participants (i.e., distrustful) had significantly more negative reactions toward the integrated immigrant target.

Dominant group members' preferences for acculturation strategies have important consequences on evaluations and impression formation of immigrant groups. Maisonneuve and

Testé (2007) found that French participants preferred the immigrant target who demonstrated willingness to adapt to the French culture, either through integration or assimilation, and rejected separated immigrants. Further, participants evaluated the integrated and assimilated targets as warmer and more competent than their separated or marginalized counterparts (Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007). Echoing these results, an experiment exploring U.S. Americans' attitudes toward Chinese international students found that American participants awarded the most positive evaluation to the Chinese student who assimilated to American culture, followed by the student who employed the integration strategy (Imamura & Zhang, 2014). Both the separation and marginalization strategies were evaluated unfavorably, leading to increased anxiety and decreased willingness to communicate with the Chinese international student who used these strategies (Imamura & Zhang, 2014).

Research comparing majority and immigrant attitudes toward acculturation and multiculturalism has established many significant patterns and implications. First, it is possible that even though general immigration ideologies, for example, "the melting pot" (Berry, 2006), are recognizable, dominant members may be less keenly aware of the behavioral manifestations of acculturation strategies. It may be less readily apparent when an individual is enacting an integrative strategy compared to a separatist strategy. Further, assessing an immigrant's acculturation strategy is complicated by the fact that cultural identity negotiations are ongoing, not fixed. As such, a dominant group member may be considering isolated incidents (e.g., a Hispanic/Latino immigrant speaking Spanish while on the phone with a family member) rather than paying attention to larger patterns of behaviors (e.g., that same Hispanic/Latino immigrant attends classes conducted in English and works in an English-speaking place of employment). Thus, an individual's strategy is not easily deduced from brief interactions or vignettes; rather, it

reveals itself across time. Lastly, positive evaluations from the dominant group are seemingly relegated to those participants who adopt the preferred strategies of integration and assimilation. The current study contributes to this burgeoning and socially-relevant area of research by further exploring dominant group members' evaluations of, and behavioral intentions toward, immigrant populations as a function of their acculturation strategy. Specifically, the current study asks participants to evaluate and respond to a particular Hispanic/Latina immigrant target, Luisa, who introduces herself and discusses her life in the United States.

Communication accommodation theory. Communication accommodation theory centers on the proposition that individuals have the capacity to adapt their communication behaviors in response to their environment, and that such communicative adjustments might explain and predict how communication partners negotiate social distance and manage communication goals (Gasiorek, 2016; Dragojevic, Gasiorek, & Giles, 2016). During social interactions, a speaker makes multiple choices, both conscious and unconscious, that communicate a variety of information to the recipient, including cues regarding the speaker's social identity and intergroup attitudes. Further, CAT's robust theoretical framework accounts for the motives behind adjustments, the psychological and behavioral manifestations of adjustments, and the interpersonal and group-level outcomes of adjustments. Thus, CAT provides a useful heuristic for examining the ways in which our attitudes, motivations, intentions, and identities are manifested in language use and communication behaviors (Jones, Gallois, Callan, & Barker, 1999), and how language use and communication behaviors impact future contact and relationship between groups.

Fundamentally, the term *accommodation* refers to an individuals' willingness and ability to adapt, adjust, or regulate one's language use and/or communication behaviors in response to

their conversation partners, initial orientations, and self-systems (stereotypes and existing attitudes) in the situation at hand” (Zhang & Giles, 2018; Zhang & Pitts, 2019). Given CAT’s strong development and expansion, the terminology used to describe accommodation has evolved to encapsulate both the discursive and psychological dimensions of an individual’s adjustments. Put another way, CAT is theoretically equipped to address both the communicative (i.e., what is actually said) and psychological (i.e., a speaker’s identity, attitudes, intentions, etc.) realms of language. Thus, accommodation can be conceptualized from the speaker’s, the recipient’s, or an observer’s perspective. In the current study, the target’s accommodative behaviors are implied by her language use, attitudes toward her accent, and her communication behaviors. The participants’ perception of this accommodation, or the degree to which they think the target successfully and effectively adapts her communication behaviors, is measured as an outcome of the target’s described behaviors. Specifically, across the accommodation/acculturation strategy conditions, the target represents varying predispositions toward adjusting or maintaining their communicative behaviors. The experimental design in the current study facilitates the exploration of the relational and intergroup consequences of the target’s accommodation/acculturation strategy.

Strategies of accommodation and nonaccommodation. CAT literature characterizes strategies through which an individual can *approximate* their communication to be more similar to another’s or can *attune* their communication to meet the needs of another. The approximation strategies, namely convergence, divergence, and maintenance, along with the attuning strategies, explicitly interpretability strategies, interpersonal control, and discourse management, equip the speaker with a variety of channels through which to manage social distance between interlocutors and meet communicative goals.

Of these six strategies, convergence and nonaccommodation are central to the current study. Specifically, convergence refers to those modifications made to one's communication behavior to be more similar to those of a specific partner or target group (Dragojevic et al., 2016). Convergence seeks to signal perceived similarities or shared identities between speakers and is often employed to demonstrate liking and connection. When conversation or contextual cues emphasize a shared identity, convergence provides a means through which to highlight this identity. Converging can occur verbally, such as through word choice, or nonverbally, such as through tone and speech rate. In the present investigation's highly accommodative condition, the target seeks to fully assimilate her language use and communication behaviors to be like those of native English speakers, communicating that she wants her accent, speech rate, and vocabulary to be like that of native English speakers. The target goes so far to say that she will do whatever possible to adapt her language use and communication behaviors. She also seeks a high degree of contact with native-English-speaking Americans. In this scenario, the target is employing a convergence strategy to signal a sense of liking and sense of identification with U.S. American culture. Further, the target's adjustments to be more like Standard American English represents upward convergence – communicative moves from a stigmatized (i.e., nonnative accent) to more prestigious variety.

Similarly, the target in the accommodation/integration condition also employs a convergence strategy, but to a lesser degree than the highly accommodative target. By comparison, the accommodative target wants to adapt her language use, seeking to use English and Spanish when possible. She acknowledges that she speaks English with a foreign accent but makes no suggestion that she wants to change her accent. Again, this target is also upwardly converging, but in a more moderate way than her highly accommodative counterpart.

Aside from convergence, a strategy of accommodation, the current study also explores nonaccommodation. Broadly speaking, nonaccommodation refers to inappropriate or maladjustments that are perceived to be ineffective, unsuccessful, or negative (Gasiorek, 2016). In the context of acculturation, adjusting immigrants may choose not to make communicative and linguistic adaptations (i.e., separation and marginalization strategies) for various reasons (Berry, 2011). These behaviors are essentially nonaccommodative. In the current study, two of the accommodation/acculturation strategies employ nonaccommodative communication adjustments. In the nonaccommodation/separation condition, the target indicates that she has no interest in adapting her communication or language behaviors to be similar to native English speakers. In fact, the target wants to maintain exclusive contact with Hispanics and Latinos who also speak Spanish. In the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, the target does not try to match the speech behaviors of native English speakers, but more as a result of acculturative stress and confusion than ethnolinguistic identity and cultural heritage maintenance. In these conditions, recipients may consider the target's refusal or inability to adapt her communication and linguistic behaviors to be inappropriate, and the relational and intergroup consequences that can result from nonaccommodative communication may follow (Gasiorek, 2016).

Motives behind (non)accommodation. As demonstrated through prior research, people have the ability and means to adapt their communication styles (Garrett, 2010), and the strategies of accommodation, whether convergence or nonaccommodation, can be put to use in an effort to negotiate social distance with communication partners or meet other communicative goals. The two general categories of motives that prompt accommodation, cognitive or affective motives, pursue varying outcomes (Dragojevic et al., 2016). Cognitive motives are those that are

concerned with comprehension and efficiency, while affective motives that seek to communicate a sense of similarity and liking or maintain a positive social and cultural identity (Garrett, 2010).

While the aforementioned cognitive and affective motives were originally theorized from the perspective of the sender, recent CAT research has begun to conceptualize *inferred* motive, or “the content, and by extension, the valence of [the speaker’s] perceived intentions when [their] behavior is seen as purposeful” (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012, p. 312). In other words, as receivers process the senders’ messages, they assess the content of the messages (i.e., what is said and how) as well as extrapolate senders’ intentions and the valence of those intentions. Intentions can be categorized as prosocial, or toward a goal of inclusion, decreased social distance, and positive interaction, or antisocial, toward a goal of exclusion, increased social distance, and negative interaction (Gasiorek & Dragojevic, 2017).

Scholars are increasingly interested in participants’ inferred motives, especially in instances where participants have deemed an interaction unsatisfactory or accommodative moves are viewed as inappropriate. Gasiorek and Giles (2012) found that when asked to recall a recent nonaccommodative interaction, behaviors that were perceived as unintentional (i.e., the speaker did not know any better or had no control) and positively motivated (i.e., the speaker meant well) led to more positive evaluations of the interaction. Conversely, behaviors that were perceived as intentional (i.e., the speaker should know better or knew what they were doing) and negatively motivated (i.e., the speaker intended to be unhelpful) led to more negative evaluations of the interaction. In a similar study, Gasiorek and Giles (2015) found that positive inferred motives (i.e., well-intentioned adjustments) led to increased perceived accommodation. Further, inferred motive indirectly affected evaluations of the interaction and of the speaker through perceived accommodation. Taken together, the experimental designs that Gasiorek and Giles (2012, 2015)

employed demonstrate that, in general, unintentional behaviors lead to more positive evaluations of nonaccommodation, as speakers are given the benefit of the doubt.

Prior research on inferred motive has focused on nonaccommodation, or, in other words, communicative adjustments that were evaluated as unsatisfactory, unhelpful, or having a negative impact on the interaction (Gasiorek, 2016). Specifically, behaviors that were seen as negative and intentional led to the most negative evaluations, while negative and unintentional behaviors led to slightly more favorable evaluations. In contrast, little is known about what happens in positive situations. Positive and unintentional behaviors may be attributed to the person's nature, indicative of positive inferred motive, while positive and intentional behaviors may be seen as indicative of extra effort related to high regard for the relationship, implying positive inferred motive, or as suspicious and disingenuous, thus implying negative inferred motive.

Of particular importance to the current study, there is little empirical evidence for whether monolingual, native English speakers understand foreign accents as controllable and intentional or uncontrollable and unintentional. In other words, if native English speakers view a nonnative English speaker's accent as intentional, or within a person's control to adapt and change, they might construe foreign-accented speech as nonaccommodation. In their mind, a nonnative English speaker might not be doing enough to converge their linguistic style to be like SAE. Importantly, nonaccommodation has been shown to have a cumulative effect over time, meaning that interactions with an interlocutor who continually does not do enough to meet their partners' needs lead to increasingly unfavorable inferred motive and lower relationship satisfaction (Gasiorek & Dragojevic, 2017).

However, linguists have long argued for the existence of a “critical period” in language development. Essentially, the critical period hypothesis contends that after a certain age (typically theorized to be around adolescence), the human vocal apparatus becomes somewhat permanently shaped by the phonemes required of the speaker’s native language (Lippi-Green, 2012; Scovel, 2000). As a consequence, the production of sounds from different languages will be affected by the speaker’s native language, leading to foreign-accented speech (Giles, 1970). Hence, changing their accent would come at great effort from speakers. Given the critical period hypothesis, linguists would argue that expecting a person to permanently change their accent is unrealistic. Relative to CAT and linguistic acculturation, critical period research suggests that convergence is possible up to a certain point from nonnative English speakers. More importantly, it seems that these limitations of accent adaptation are not widely known outside of linguistic research, indicating an important avenue for applied communication and social psychological research.

In summary, CAT provides a useful tool through which to predict and explain negotiations of social distance between interactants. Despite the continued empirical attention that CAT receives, gaps in the theoretical framework persist. To date, nonaccommodation has received relatively little empirical attention, but evidence suggests that nonaccommodation may be prevalent, at least for some social groups (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012). Furthermore, there are presently no studies exploring the degree to which native English speakers perceive foreign accents to be nonaccommodation. The current study is posed to investigate the degree to which native-English-speaking, U.S. participants understand an accent to be (un)changeable, which has significant implications for the relational and intergroup dynamics between native and nonnative English speakers.

Additionally, because the area of nonaccommodative perceptions of foreign accents remains understudied, the motives that native English speakers infer from nonnative speakers also remain unexplored. In other words, research has not yet captured the degree to which native English speakers perceive foreign accents to be (un)intentional and indicative of foreign-accented speakers' positive or negative motives. The experimental design also provides the opportunity to explore the motives and intentions that participants infer when adjustments are viewed as satisfactory as well as unsatisfactory. In other words, the current study delivers a new research avenue through which inferred motive might be extended to both positively and negatively valenced perceptions of the intentionality behind the speaker's adjustments.

Theoretical intersections. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, CAT and the acculturation framework share complementary constructs that, together, provide a unique theoretical background through which to understand the effects of immigrant acculturation and accommodation strategies on dominant group members' intergroup attitudes and communication behaviors toward linguistic minority, immigrant populations. While the acculturative framework and CAT attend to varying aspects of intergroup communication processes, in fact these perspectives have several points of intersection (Zhang & Giles, 2018). Importantly, both the acculturation framework and CAT have the ability to address both intergroup- and interpersonal-level phenomena. Thus, applying a CAT lens to the acculturative framework provides additional understanding of the dominant group's (i.e., native English speakers) reactions to an immigrant target's specific acculturative and linguistic behaviors.

Both accommodative strategies and acculturation strategies attend to the processes through which individuals adapt and modify their behaviors (both communicative and cultural). Specifically, the adjustment strategies of high accommodation, accommodation, and

nonaccommodation correlate with assimilation, integration, and separation or marginalization, respectively. Here, immigrants can signal their sense of identification with the host culture by accommodating to the language and communication norms deemed appropriate and espoused by the dominant culture. In contrast, an individual could communicate their sense of identification with their home culture (and disidentification with the host culture) by maintaining their communicative norms or diverging from the dominant culture's norms.

Furthermore, both theoretical approaches have sought to predict and explain the consequences of accommodation and/or acculturation. As evidenced in the acculturation literature, dominant groups tend to favor assimilative, or at the very least integrative, strategies (Imamura & Zhang, 2014; Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007; van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; van Oudenhoven & Hofstra, 2011). Similarly, immigrant groups also tend to prefer integrative strategies (Liu, 2011; van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). By exploring social psychological and communicative processes that may explain the dominant group's evaluations of the immigrant's acculturation strategy, more meaningful applied and practical interventions can be suggested to facilitate integrative strategies that benefit both host and acculturating groups.

Explanatory/Mediating Mechanisms

Prior intergroup research indicates that there are important explanatory factors that might explain the dynamics between host and immigrant groups. Hence, the current study features perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety as mediating mechanisms between social attributions of nonnative accents, the immigrant target's accommodative/acculturative strategy, and the participants' willingness to communicate and accommodate.

Perceived accommodation. As discussed in the theoretical framework, CAT is equipped to address the subjective nature of communication. During an interaction, the listener takes in their partner's communication and behaviors, assesses them, and uses them to draw conclusions about the individual speaker and the overall interaction. In other words, regardless of what the speakers think they are doing or intend to do, the recipients' evaluations of interactions and speakers often depend on their (the recipients') views of the adjustments made by speakers (Dragojevic et al., 2016). Again, these evaluations represent perceived accommodation, or the degree to which recipients see speakers' adjustments as appropriate, satisfactory, and necessary. Perceived accommodation is a potentially significant outcome of the sender's behaviors and antecedent of the recipient's interpersonal and intergroup attitudes. While increased perceived accommodation is typically more satisfactory and leads to more favorable evaluations (Dragojevic et al., 2016), increasing empirical attention seeks to understand assessments of perceived nonaccommodation, or those adjustments that are unsatisfactory. Thus, the current study seeks to examine the effects of social attributions about nonnative English speakers and a specific immigrant target's accommodation and acculturation strategies on participant's perceptions of the target's (non)accommodative behaviors. In turn, this perceived accommodation will predict the participant's interpersonal attitudes (i.e., willingness to communicate and accommodate to the speaker) and intergroup attitudes (i.e., attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino immigrants in general).

Social attraction. When group membership is salient, a person's attributes are assessed at the group level (Hogg, 2006). In these intergroup contexts, perceptions of similarity, liking, and compatibility with a specific outgroup member represent social attraction, or a depersonalized liking for another person centered around group-based traits. Hogg (2006) contends that social

attraction processes employ social categorization based on salient intergroup markers (i.e., accent, language use) and lead to stereotype-based judgments of outgroup members. Since social cognition plays a central role in intergroup bias (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), when nonnative English speakers and speakers with foreign accents are categorized as outgroup members, group boundaries are reinforced (Operario & Fiske, 2003). Hence, judgments that stem from these categorizations may be seen as manifestations of intergroup bias, wherein the ingroup is favored and the outgroup is maligned (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

Research suggests that accent and other linguistic markers are significant predictors of social attraction. In an experimental design, Montgomery and Zhang (2018) demonstrated that those participants who were primed to consider the negative social attributes associated with foreign-accented speakers rated a moderately-accented speaker as less socially attractive. That is, based on the stereotype-relevant and group-level assessments made of the speaker, the participant reported decreased interest in spending time with or getting to know the speaker. Furthermore, acculturative strategy influences perceptions of social attraction. Imamura and Zhang (2014) found that participants rated a Chinese international student who adopted an assimilation strategy as most socially attractive, followed by the integration strategy, then separation, with the marginalization strategy evaluated as least socially attractive. In both studies, social attraction influenced the respondent's willingness to communicate with the target, either the speaker or the Chinese student, respectively. Montgomery and Zhang (2018) found that those who reported decreased social attraction toward the speaker also expressed decreased willingness to interact with the speaker, while Imamura and Zhang (2014) found that participants were more willing to communicate with the assimilated or integrated Chinese student, who was rated as more socially attractive than the separated or marginalized Chinese student.

Together, results of these studies confirm prior research indicating that perceived similarity plays a key role in the acculturation attitudes of dominant group members, and their willingness to communicate with nonnative-English-speaking immigrants. Considering Imamura and Zhang's (2014) experimental manipulations, results suggest that linguistic and acculturative behaviors that are accommodative or highly accommodative to the dominant group's expectations, whether these expectations are linguistically realistic or not, are evaluated most favorably. Given that dominant group members expect and prefer that immigrants assimilate (van Oudenhoven et al., 2006), it follows that these strategies would be seen as most socially attractive by dominant group members, as demonstrated in the aforementioned studies. In Imamura and Zhang's (2014) design, the Chinese student in the separation and marginalization conditions expressed disinterest in interacting with American students or participating in American culture, so perhaps the social attraction evaluations stemmed from this disinterest or rejection of the dominant member's cultural group. Nonetheless, in Montgomery and Zhang's (2018) design, acculturation strategy was not mentioned, and still the accented speaker was rated unfavorably. In Imamura and Zhang (2014), the international student target's linguistic adaptations were unexamined; the authors manipulated the four acculturation strategies by focusing on cultural behavior adaptations. Synthesizing this literature, the current study manipulates the four acculturation strategies and also features (non)accommodation through the target's linguistic and communicative adjustments.

The current study extends Montgomery and Zhang's (2018) experimental design by including a positive social attribution condition, testing whether the effects on social attraction hold when participants are asked to consider the positive characteristics attributed to nonnative English speakers. Thus, the design explores whether conditions exist under which members of

the dominant ethnolinguistic group evaluate ethnolinguistic minorities as socially attractive. If such positive evaluations are found, interventions may be proposed that enhance dominant group members' perceptions of linguistic outgroup members' social attractiveness.

Intergroup communication anxiety. A long and rich research history has connected intergroup communication anxiety to intergroup biases (Stephan, Stephan, & Gudykunst, 1999), including one's willingness to communicate and accommodate to cultural and linguistic outgroup members. However, a more optimistic line of research argues that intergroup anxiety is a key mediator between contact and prejudice, whereby declines in prejudicial attitudes are partially explained by reduced intergroup anxiety after contact between groups (Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Imamura, Ruble, and Zhang (2016) define individual-level intergroup communication anxiety as "one's uncomfortable feelings of being uneasy, tense, worried, and apprehensive" about communicating with an individual who is perceived to be an outgroup member (p. 528).

Prior research has established a connection between increased anxiety, superficial cognitive processing, and increased reliance on stereotypes (Imamura et al., 2016). Research suggests that contact with a disliked or (perceived to be) potentially threatening outgroup leads to anxiety, and anxious feelings during an interaction may cause misunderstandings and dilute any positive outcomes, thus deterring the possibility for future interactions (Wilder & Simon, 2001). However, Montgomery and Zhang (2018) found that increased intergroup communication anxiety was a positive predictor of willingness to communicate, indicating that anxiety may be a motivating factor in intergroup encounters. In the context of the current study, the dominant group's feelings of intergroup communication anxiety might meaningfully connect their response to the social attribution message about nonnative English speakers, their perceptions of the

Hispanic/Latina immigrant target's behaviors, and their willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target.

Hypotheses

In conjunction with the literature reviewed in this chapter, the acculturation framework and communication accommodation theory provide a framework through which the following hypotheses were proposed and tested (see Figure 1 for the hypothesized model). Social attribution messages about nonnative English speakers were created based on language attitudes research, and the immigrant target's accommodative/acculturative strategies were designed based on the acculturative framework.

H1: Participants in the positive social attribution condition will have the most positive perceptions and judgments of the target and the target's group, as measured by the following dependent variables, followed by those in the control condition, with those in the negative condition reporting the least positive perceptions.

- a: evaluations of the target's inferred motive, (i.e., intentionality, cognitive and affective motives; overall valence)
- b: judgments of the target (i.e., perceived accommodation, social attraction, intergroup communication anxiety);
- c: willingness to engage in potential interactions with the target (i.e., willingness to communicate, willingness to accommodate)
- d: intergroup perceptions (i.e., intergroup communication anxiety, positive affective attitudes) toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants in general.

H2: Participants in the high accommodation/assimilation condition will have the most positive perceptions and judgments of the target and the target's group, as measured by

the aforementioned dependent variables, followed by those in the accommodation/integration condition, then the nonaccommodation/separation condition, with those in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition reporting the least positive perceptions.

H3: Participants in the positive social attribution and high accommodation/assimilation condition will report the most positive perceptions and judgments of the target and the target's group, as measured by the aforementioned dependent variables, while participants in the negative social attribution and nonaccommodation/marginalization condition will report the most positive perceptions and judgments of the target and the target's group.

H4: Compared to participants in the negative social attribution condition or in the control condition, participants in the positive social attribution condition will report higher perceived accommodation from and social attraction to the target, which will positively predict willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target.

H5: Compared to participants in the negative social attribution condition or in the control condition, participants in the positive social attribution condition will report lower intergroup communication anxiety toward the target, which will negatively predict willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target.

H6: There will be significant indirect effects of accommodation/acculturation strategies on willingness to communicate and accommodate through three parallel mediators.

a: Compared to their counterparts in the accommodation/integration, nonaccommodation/separation, or nonaccommodation/marginalization conditions, participants in the high accommodation/assimilation condition will report higher

perceived accommodation from and social attraction to the target, which in turn will positively predict willingness to communicate and accommodate.

b: Compared to their counterparts in the accommodation/integration, nonaccommodation/separation, or nonaccommodation/marginalization conditions, participants in the high accommodation/assimilation condition will report lower intergroup communication anxiety toward the target, which will negatively predict willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target.

c: Compared to the nonaccommodation/separation or nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, participants in the accommodation/integration condition will report higher perceived accommodation from and social attraction to the target, which in turn will positively predict willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target.

d: Compared to the nonaccommodation/separation or nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, participants in the accommodation/integration condition will report lower intergroup communication anxiety toward the target, which in turn will negatively predict willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target.

e: Compared to participants in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, participants in the nonaccommodation/separation condition will report higher perceived accommodation from and social attraction to the target, which in turn will positively predict willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target.

f: Lastly, compared to the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, participants in the nonaccommodation/separation condition will report lower intergroup communication anxiety toward the target, which in turn will negatively predict willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target.

In order to test the proposed hypotheses, the current study employed a 3 (social attribution condition) x 4 (accommodation/ acculturation strategy condition) experimental design. The following chapter presents the methodological details.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

This study employed a 3 x 4 experimental design to investigate the effects of social attributions about nonnative English speakers and their accents, as well as a nonnative-English-speaking, Hispanic/Latina immigrant target's language and cultural adaptation strategies on native-English-speaking, U.S. American participants' inferences about a target speakers' motives (i.e., intentionality, inferred cognitive motive, inferred affective motive); judgments of the target speaker (i.e., perceived accommodation, social attraction, intergroup communication anxiety); perceptions of willingness to communicate and accommodate during a potential interaction with the target speaker; and their intergroup perceptions (i.e., affective attitudes and intergroup communication anxiety) toward Hispanic/Latino immigrants in general. This chapter details the procedures of the two pilot studies and the main study.

Pilot 1

Prior to the main study, two pilot studies were conducted to detect any potential problems within the study design, procedures, or materials, and also to ensure the validity of the experimental manipulations. Pilot 1 was a randomized, posttest-only 2 (ethnic group terms) x 2 (social attribution condition) x 4 (accommodation/acculturation condition) experimental design. Pilot 1 was conducted for four specific purposes: to determine what terminology (i.e., "Latino/Latina" or "Latinx") was appropriate for use in the main study; to ensure the successful manipulation of the social attribution conditions and accommodation/acculturation strategy conditions; to evaluate the reliability of the major variable measurements; and to assess the clarity of instructions for these measurements.

Given ongoing academic and public discourse regarding use of terminology in reference to particular social groups, it is important to measure the participants' understanding and use of the terms "Latinx," "Latino," and "Latina," in order to gauge which term is most appropriate for use in the main study. Thus, pilot 1 sought to establish whether participants who read the "Latinx" materials responded to the experimental manipulations or major variables in a systematically different manner than those participants who read the "Latino/Latina" materials.

Pilot 1 also evaluated the manipulation of the independent variables: the social attribution of nonnative English speakers and the immigrant target's accommodation/acculturation strategy. The successful manipulation of the social attribution variable required three criteria. First, the mean score for participants in the positive condition needed to be significantly higher than the midpoint of the scale (i.e., 3, "neither agree nor disagree"). Second, the mean score for participants in the negative condition needed to be significantly lower than the midpoint of the scale. Finally, participants in the positive social attribution condition should report significantly more positive evaluations of nonnative English speakers and foreign accents than those participants in the negative condition.

Successful manipulation of the accommodation/acculturation scenarios required three separate criteria. First, participants' perceptions of Luisa's identification with both her heritage and American culture must have followed the theoretical framework and been significantly different from the midpoint (i.e., 3, "neither agree nor disagree") of the scale. Each scenario carried its own certain directions for the cultural identification variables (Berry, 1992, 2006). Specifically, participants in the accommodation/integration condition needed to perceive Luisa to be highly identified with both American and her heritage culture. Participants in the high accommodation/assimilation condition needed to perceive Luisa to be highly identified with

American culture but weakly identified with her heritage culture. Participants in the nonaccommodation/separation condition needed to perceive Luisa to be weakly identified with American culture but highly identified with her heritage culture. Lastly, participants in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition needed to perceive Luisa to be weakly identified with both American and her heritage culture.

During the second step toward ensuring the accommodation/acculturation strategies were successfully manipulated, participants' perceptions of Luisa's identification with both cultures were compared *within* each accommodation/acculturation condition. Given that the current study situated Luisa as a relatively recent immigrant, having arrived in the United States just two years ago, she is still very much in the process of adapting to life and culture in the new cultural environment and adapting her communication behaviors. That is to say, her accommodation and acculturation behaviors should be interpreted as an ongoing, dynamic process, not as a static, fixed outcome.

Consistent with the acculturation literature, if the high accommodation/assimilation scenario is successfully manipulated, participants will perceive Luisa's identification with American culture to be strong, and thus significantly different from her identification with her heritage culture, which will be perceived to be weak. Similarly, if the nonaccommodation/separation scenario is successfully manipulated, participants will perceive Luisa's identification with American culture to be weak, and thus significantly different from her identification with her heritage culture, which will be perceived to be strong.

However, it is theoretically unclear whether the identification scores within the accommodation/integration and nonaccommodation/marginalization scenarios should be equal to one another. Berry (1992) describes integration as "some maintenance of the cultural integrity of

the [heritage] group (that is, some reaction or resistance to change) as well as the movement to become an integral part of a larger societal framework (that is, some adjustment)” (p. 4). Later, Berry (2006, p. 721) again describes the integration strategy as “an interest in both maintaining one’s original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups.” Given these descriptions, it remains open for interpretation whether a person employing the integration strategy would always feel equally pulled by these two processes (i.e., cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation). Applying these definitions to Luisa and her circumstances, it is reasonable that, despite her engaging in an integration strategy, participants would perceive her as strongly identified with American culture, although still more strongly identified with her heritage culture, given that she has only been in the United States for two years.

Similarly, Berry (1992) describes the marginalization strategy as a person’s loss of “cultural and psychological contact with both their traditional culture and the larger society (either by exclusion or withdrawal)” (p. 5). Importantly, this process is marked by considerable individual confusion, alienation, and acculturative stress, all of which coalesce to result in loss of traditional cultural identity while impeding the development of a new cultural identity. Berry (2007) expands on this original definition by explaining that loss of connection with one’s cultural heritage can result from individual (i.e., lack of interest) or systemic (i.e., enforced cultural abandonment, exclusion, discrimination) forces. Applied to Luisa and her situation, participants may perceive her to be weakly identified with American culture, given her recent arrival, lack of connections with Americans, and feeling unappreciated by American society. Comparatively, participants might perceive her to be slightly more strongly identified with her heritage culture, sensing that Luisa would be slow or reluctant to forfeit her cultural identity.

The third and final step in verifying the successful manipulation of the accommodation/acculturation scenarios compared participants' perceptions of Luisa's identification with both cultures *across* each accommodation/acculturation condition. In order to be consistent with acculturation literature, scores for perceived identification with American culture within the accommodation/integration and high accommodation/assimilation conditions should be significantly higher than American identification scores within the nonaccommodation/separation and nonaccommodation/marginalization conditions. Importantly, however, it is not necessary that identification with American culture be significantly different between the integration and assimilation conditions, or between the separation and marginalization conditions (Imamura & Zhang, 2014).

Similarly, scores for perceived identification with heritage culture within nonaccommodation/separation and nonaccommodation/marginalization conditions should be significantly higher than heritage identification scores within the accommodation/integration and high accommodation/assimilation conditions. Again, it is not necessary that scores for identification with heritage culture are significantly different between the separation and marginalization conditions or between the assimilation and integration conditions (Imamura & Zhang, 2014).

Participants

Participants for pilot 1 included 368 undergraduate students ($M_{age} = 20.00$, $SD = 3.17$, range = 18-51) attending a medium-sized Midwestern university. Participants were recruited from a university-wide required introductory communication course and upper-division communication courses and received partial course credit for their participation. Of the participants, 205 (55.7%) were female, 162 (44.0%) were male, and one (0.3%) did not indicate

their sex identification. The majority of participants identified as White/Caucasian (285; 77.4%), while 21 (5.7%) identified as Asian; 18 (4.9%) as Hispanic/Latino; 18 (4.9%) as Black/African American; two (.5%) as American Indian/Native American/Alaskan Native; one (.3%) as Pacific Islander/Native Hawaiian; 21 (5.7%) as bi- or multi-racial; and two (.5%) as none of the above categories. In terms of language use, the participants were primarily monolingual, native English speakers (276; 75.0%), while a large portion (87; 23.6%) spoke two languages, and a small group (5; 1.4%) spoke three languages.

The majority of the participant sample identified as Democrat (139; 37.8%), while 108 (29.3%) identified as Republicans; 67 (18.2%) as Independents; 21 (5.7%) as Libertarians; and 33 (9.0%) participants identified with some other, unspecified political entity. The average political ideology, measured on a 1-7 Likert scale where 1 = extremely conservative and 7 = extremely liberal, was moderate ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 1.46$).

Procedures

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two terminology conditions. Participants in the “Latinx” condition ($n = 172$; 46.7%) read materials that used the term “Latinx,” a gender-inclusive term, to describe Luisa and her ethnic group. Participants in the “Latino/Latina” condition ($n = 196$; 53.3%) read materials that used the word “Latina” to describe Luisa and “Latino” to describe her ethnic group.

Next, participants were randomly assigned to one of the two social attribution experimental conditions (i.e., paragraphs describing either positive or negative traits associated with nonnative English speakers and foreign accents). Of the participants, 183 (49.7%) were randomly assigned to the positive social attribution condition, while 185 (50.3%) of participants

were randomly assigned to the negative condition. After reading the assigned paragraph, participants answered a manipulation check questionnaire.

After completing the manipulation check questionnaire for the social attribution condition, participants were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions (i.e., scenarios describing the immigrant target's English-speaking behaviors and acculturative strategy). Of the participants, 95 (25.8%) were randomly assigned to the accommodation/integration scenario; 89 (24.2%) to the accommodation/assimilation scenario; 97 (26.4%) to the nonaccommodation/separation scenario; and 87 (23.6%) to the nonaccommodation/marginalization scenario. After reading the assigned scenario, participants answered a manipulation check questionnaire. Lastly, participants completed instruments measuring the major variables.

Materials

Social attribution message. Two social attribution messages about nonnative English speakers (i.e., paragraphs describing either positive or negative attributions of nonnative English speakers and foreign accents; see Appendix A) were created for the study. Each message included an introductory sentence that situates the topic of the paragraph as those speakers who learned English as a foreign language and have a nonnative accent. Second, the paragraph discussed the linguistic competence, or command of the English language, associated with nonnative speakers with foreign accents. Third, the paragraph discussed the psychological functioning of nonnative English speakers. The paragraph concluded by stating whether speaking English as a foreign language with a nonnative accent is a positive or negative characteristic. In what follows, the positive and negative social attribution paragraphs are explained in further detail.

Positive social attribution. The positive social attribution paragraph opened the topic by acknowledging that individuals who speak English as a foreign language do have a foreign, but interesting and appealing, accent. Then, the paragraph addressed linguistic competence by explaining that foreign accents are a natural outcome of speaking multiple languages and in no way interfere with a person's ability to wield the English language proficiently. Next, the paragraph elaborated on the numerous positive psychological and cognitive outcomes of nonnative English speakers, including increased cultural sensitivity and empathy, increased cognitive capacity, and prolonged defenses against degenerative cognitive diseases such as Alzheimer's. Finally, the positive paragraph closed by stating that, given all of these benefits, speaking a second language, even with a foreign accent, is regarded as a positive characteristic.

Negative social attribution. The negative social attribution paragraph opened the topic by stating that individuals who speak English as a foreign language have a foreign and heavy accent that is hard to understand. Then, the paragraph addressed linguistic competence by explaining that nonnative English speakers often mispronounce English words, and that these pronunciations are an indicator that they cannot speak English proficiently. Next, the paragraph suggested that speaking a foreign language impedes psychological and cognitive functioning, leading to decreased cultural adaptation, social isolation, loneliness and depression. Finally, the negative paragraph closed by stating that, given all of these disadvantages, speaking a second language, especially with a foreign accent, is regarded as a negative characteristic.

Social attribution manipulation check. Four items checked the manipulation of the two (i.e., positive and negative) social attribution conditions ($\alpha = .91$; see Appendix B). Participants' reported the degree to which they felt the items accurately reflected the information they had read in the social attribution paragraph (e.g., According to the paragraph, speaking English as a

second language is generally regarded positively). Participants responded using 5-point Likert scales, where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Higher scores indicated more agreement and thus more positive attributions toward nonnative English speakers and speaking with a foreign accent.

Scenarios. Four accommodation/acculturation scenarios were created for the current study (see Appendix C). Each scenario began with a brief introduction paragraph describing current U.S. immigration trends and the increased likelihood for contact between native English speakers and nonnative-English-speaking immigrants. The introduction paragraph then introduced Luisa, the nonnative-English speaking, immigrant target.

All four scenarios began with the same introductory sentence in which Luisa stated that she immigrated to the United States two years ago. Then, Luisa acknowledged her nonnative accent and discussed her attitude toward her accent. Finally, Luisa discussed her acculturative strategy in the United States, indicating the degree to which she wants to maintain her cultural and linguistic heritage and the degree to which she wants to participate in U.S. culture and develop connections with English-speaking Americans.

Embedded within this acculturation strategy were Luisa's tendencies toward accommodation, where a highly accommodative stance is representative of the assimilation strategy, appropriate accommodation is representative of integration, and nonaccommodation is represented by separation and marginalization. Consistent with theoretical conceptualizations of nonaccommodation (Gasiorek, 2015), the manipulations of nonaccommodation are represented by Luisa actively demonstrating unwillingness to adapt to, and avoidance of, U.S. culture (as in the separation scenario), while in the marginalization scenario Luisa attributed her lack of acculturation to feelings of confusion, stress, and isolation. Hence, this manipulation predicted

that participants in the nonaccommodation/separation condition would perceive Luisa to have maintained a strong identification with her heritage culture while avoiding cultivating a sense of connection to American culture. Within this scenario, Luisa's nonaccommodative behaviors were encapsulated within her separation acculturation strategy – she actively chose to avoid contact with English-speaking U.S. Americans and U.S. culture writ large in order to preserve her sense of cultural identity linked to her heritage culture. Comparatively, participants in the nonaccommodation condition would perceive that while Luisa's sense of identity with her heritage culture depreciated over time, her sense of identification with U.S. culture did not develop. Within this scenario, Luisa's nonaccommodative behaviors were implied within her marginalized strategy – acculturative stress and isolation inhibited Luisa's participation in U.S. culture while also severing her sense of connection to her heritage. In what follows, each scenario is discussed in further detail.

Accommodation/Integration. In the accommodation/integration scenario, Luisa talked about her foreign accent as a natural outcome of speaking more than one language. She indicated that when the need arose, she attempted to match the communicative behaviors used by native English speakers. She also specified a desire to maintain her cultural and linguistic heritage by speaking Spanish and English fluently, while also participating in U.S. culture, such as attending local events and spending time with a diverse group of friends.

High Accommodation/Assimilation. In the high accommodation/assimilation scenario, Luisa talked about her foreign accent as something she would like to adapt and change to be more similar to a SAE accent. She indicated that she does everything possible to match the communicative behaviors used by native English speakers. She also specified no desire to maintain her cultural and linguistic heritage, saying she preferred to speak English and avoided

contact with Spanish-speakers. She also preferred attending local events and spending time with American friends and did not often interact with Hispanics.

Nonaccommodation/Separation. In the nonaccommodation/separation scenario, Luisa talked about her accent as something she refused to change. She indicated that she neither attempted nor wanted to match the communicative behaviors used by native English speakers. She also specified a reluctance to relinquish her cultural and linguistic heritage, stating that she had many Latino friends with whom she enjoyed speaking Spanish. She stated that she did not have many American friends. Luisa indicated that, despite living in the United States, she felt more connected to her heritage culture.

Nonaccommodation/Marginalization. In the nonaccommodation/marginalization scenario, Luisa talked about her accent as something she did not have the skill or competence to change. She indicated that she would not know what to do to match the communicative behaviors used by native English speakers. She also indicated that she had lost touch with contacts from her heritage culture but did not have strong social ties to American culture either. She had difficulty interacting with both U.S. Americans and Hispanics/Latinos and did not identify with either culture.

Accommodation/acculturation manipulation check. Sixteen items checked the manipulation of Luisa's identification with American culture and her heritage culture in the four accommodation/acculturation scenarios (see Appendix D). Using a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree, eight items measured Luisa's perceived identification with American culture (overall $M = 3.45$, $SD = .86$, $\alpha = .92$; e.g., American culture is important to Luisa), and eight items measured Luisa's perceived identification with her heritage culture (overall $M = 3.39$, $SD = .93$, $\alpha = .91$; e.g., Luisa's heritage culture is important to her).

Results of Pilot 1

Assessing terminology. An independent samples *t*-test assessed whether use of Latino/Latina or Latinx led to systematic differences in responses. Results indicated statistically significant differences between participants whose materials employed the term Latino/Latina ($n = 196$) and those whose materials employed the term Latinx ($n = 172$) on four key variables. Those participants who read the Latinx materials reported significantly lower frequency with which they had heard the term in daily life ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 1.85$; $t(315.78) = 8.99$, $p < .000$); decreased understanding of the term ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.89$; $t(267.76) = 10.17$, $p < .000$); decreased comfort using the term in conversation ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 1.75$; $t(339.37) = 9.72$, $p < .000$); and decreased willingness to communicate with immigrants who are members of this group ($M = 5.48$, $SD = 1.20$; $t(324.77) = 2.15$, $p < .05$) than those participants who read the Latino/Latina materials. Full results of this comparison are presented in Table 1. Given these results, the main study used Latino/Latina to refer to Luisa and her ethnic group.

Assessing the social attribution manipulation. A series of *t*-tests assessed the manipulation of the social attribution conditions about nonnative English speakers. First, an independent samples *t*-test compared the positive condition mean to the negative condition mean. Results indicated that participants assigned to the positive attribution condition ($M = 4.94$, $SD = .70$) reported statistically significantly more positive attributions of nonnative English speakers and nonnative accents than participants in the negative attribution condition ($M = 3.15$, $SD = .74$), $t(366) = 23.78$, $p < .000$.

Two one-sample *t*-tests assessed whether the positive and negative mean scores were significantly different from the midpoint of the scale. Results indicated that the mean score for the positive condition was significantly above the midpoint, $t(182) = 37.32$, $p < .001$. The

negative mean was also significantly higher than the midpoint, $t(184) = 2.70, p < .05$. Hence, the manipulation of the social attribution conditions about nonnative English speakers was partially successful.

Table 1

Results from Pilot 1: Means and Standard Deviations for Major Variables Across Terminology Conditions.

	Condition			
	Latino/Latina		Latinx	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Identification with American Culture	3.43	.86	3.47	.89
Identification with Heritage Culture	3.39	.94	3.40	.92
Social Attributions	4.08	1.19	3.99	1.12
Prototypicality	4.42	1.07	4.41	1.00
Attitudes toward Immigration	5.57	1.07	5.58	1.14
Perceived Intentionality	4.54	1.19	4.44	1.20
Cognitive Motive	4.71	1.39	4.50	1.34
Affective Motive	4.73	1.29	4.73	1.29
Overall Motive	5.57	1.13	5.43	1.30
Perceived Accommodation	4.73	.98	4.66	1.00
Social Attraction	5.23	.98	5.14	1.09
Intergroup Communication Anxiety	3.03	.90	3.13	.92
Willingness to Communicate	5.73*	.95	5.48*	1.20
Willingness to Accommodate	5.87	.92	5.76	1.06
General Attitudes toward	5.86	.96	5.81	1.10
Hispanic/Latino/Latinx Immigrants				
Frequency Hearing Term	5.23***	1.40	3.68***	1.85
Understanding of Term	5.68***	1.10	4.01***	1.89
Comfort Using Term	5.20***	1.50	3.54***	1.75

Note: * indicates that means differ significantly at $p < .05$; *** indicates that means differ significantly at $p < .000$.

Further, a subsequent independent samples t -test verified that exposure to the social attribution conditions did not influence perceptions of Luisa's identification with American or heritage culture. Results indicated no significant difference between the positive condition participants' perceptions of Luisa's identification with American culture ($M = 3.49, SD = .90$) compared with the negative condition participants' perceptions ($M = 3.40, SD = .86$), $t(366) =$

.98, $p = .33$. Neither was there a significant difference between the positive condition participants' perceptions of Luisa's identification with her heritage culture ($M = 3.44$, $SD = .92$) compared with the negative condition participants'

Assessing the accommodation/acculturation manipulation. A series of t -tests ensured the successful manipulations of the accommodation/acculturation scenarios. First, a one-sample t -tests was run, wherein significant results indicated that Luisa's perceived identification was significantly different from the midpoint (i.e., 3, "neither agree nor disagree") of the scale. For the accommodation/integration scenario, participants perceived Luisa to be strongly identified with American culture ($M = 3.98$, $SD = .52$, $t(94) = 18.53$, $p < .001$) and strongly identified with her heritage culture ($M = 3.66$, $SD = .41$, $t(94) = 15.79$, $p < .001$). For the high accommodation/assimilation scenario, participants perceived Luisa to be strongly identified with American culture ($M = 4.19$, $SD = .60$, $t(88) = 18.64$, $p < .001$) and weakly identified with her heritage culture ($M = 2.35$, $SD = .77$, $t(87) = -7.96$, $p < .001$). For the nonaccommodation/separation scenario, participants perceived Luisa to be weakly identified with American culture ($M = 2.65$, $SD = .73$, $t(96) = -4.75$, $p < .001$) and strongly identified with her heritage culture ($M = 4.30$, $SD = .66$, $t(96) = 19.29$, $p < .001$). Lastly, for the nonaccommodation/marginalization scenario, participants' perceived Luisa to be moderately (i.e., neither strongly nor weakly) identified with American culture ($M = 3.00$, $SD = .46$, $t(86) = .09$, $p = .93$) and her heritage culture ($M = 3.16$, $SD = .47$, $t(86) = 3.13$, $p < .01$). Based on these results of this first step in assessing the manipulation, the manipulations for the accommodation/integration, high accommodation/assimilation, and nonaccommodation/separation conditions successfully fit the theoretical frameworks, while the manipulation for the nonaccommodation/marginalization did not.

Suggested revisions for the nonaccommodation/marginalization scenario will be explained in the Discussion section.

Next, paired samples *t*-tests (with the scores for identification with American culture as the pre-test and scores for identification with heritage culture as the posttest) compared the mean scores for identification with American and heritage culture within each condition. Results are summarized in Table 2. Results indicated a significant difference between the mean scores for identification with American culture and identification with heritage culture in the accommodation/integration condition, $t(94) = 7.89, p < .001$; the accommodation/assimilation condition, $t(88) = 14.35, p < .001$; the nonaccommodation/separation condition, $t(96) = -13.75, p < .001$; and the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, $t(86) = -3.11, p < .01$. These results suggested consistency with the theoretical frameworks.

Lastly, a series of independent samples *t*-tests compared the identification scores across conditions. Results are summarized in Table 2. For identification with American culture, results indicated that the accommodation/integration score was significantly different from the high accommodation/assimilation score, $t(182) = -2.44, p < .05$, as well as the nonaccommodation/separation score, $t(190) = 14.60, p < .001$, and the nonaccommodation/marginalization score $t(180) = 13.40, p < .001$. Similarly, the mean score for the high accommodation/assimilation scenario was significantly different from the nonaccommodation/separation score, $t(184) = 15.61, p < .001$ and the nonaccommodation/marginalization score $t(174) = 14.58, p < .001$. Finally, results indicated that the nonaccommodation/separation score was significantly different from the nonaccommodation/marginalization score, $t(182) = -3.90, p < .001$.

Table 2

Comparisons of Means and Standard Deviations for Identification with American and Heritage Culture Within and Across Accommodation/Acculturation Scenario Conditions in Pilot 1.

	Identification Scores			
	American Culture		Heritage Culture	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Accommodation/Integration	3.98 ^a	.52	3.66 ^d	.41
High Accommodation/Assimilation	4.19 ^b	.60	2.35 ^c	.77
Nonaccommodation/Separation	2.65 ^c	.73	4.30 ^b	.66
Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	3.00 ^d	.46	3.16 ^a	.47

Notes: Means with different superscripts in rows and columns are significantly different from one another.

For identification with heritage culture, results indicated that the accommodation/integration score was significantly different from the high accommodation/assimilation score, $t(182) = 14.57, p < .001$, as well as the nonaccommodation/separation score $t(190) = -7.93, p < .001$, and the nonaccommodation/marginalization score, $t(180) = 7.69, p < .001$. Similarly, the mean score for the high accommodation/assimilation scenario was significantly different from the nonaccommodation/separation score, $t(184) = -18.52, p < .001$ and the nonaccommodation/marginalization score, $t(174) = -8.37, p < .001$. Finally, results indicate that the nonaccommodation/separation score was significantly different from the nonaccommodation/marginalization score, $t(182) = 13.25, p < .001$. These results demonstrate consistency with the theoretical frameworks.

Discussion of Pilot 1

Results of pilot 1 provided useful information for moving forward with the study. First of all, the pilot study indicated the most appropriate use of ethnic group terminology. Participants reported significantly lower familiarity, understanding, and comfort using the term Latinx, as well as decreased willingness to interact with a Latinx outgroup member, compared with those

participants who read materials employing the terms Latino and Latina. Hence, the main study employed the term Latina to describe Luisa, and Latino to describe her ethnolinguistic group and heritage culture.

Further, analysis of the pilot data indicated generally successful experimental manipulations. Results of the independent samples *t*-test indicated that the social attribution manipulation was partially successful. As designed, when asked to recall content and information from the paragraph they had just read, participants in the positive social attribution reported more positive attributions of nonnative English speakers and their accents. Additionally, as designed, the attributions reported by those participants in the positive condition were significantly higher than the midpoint of the scale. However, the attributions reported by those participants in the negative condition were also significantly higher than the midpoint, indicating these scores were more indicative of indifferent or neutral attitudes than negative attitudes. Hence, the negative attribution condition should be modified to elicit negative attitudes from participants. Furthermore, results suggested that the social attribution conditions about nonnative English speakers and foreign accents did not influence participants' later perceptions of the target immigrant's identification with either American or heritage culture.

Results of the accommodation/acculturation manipulation check suggested an overall strong reflection of the acculturation and accommodation literature. Overall, the strategies accurately reflected the guiding acculturation theoretical framework and represented differentiated identification between each culture when necessary.

Results indicated that both cultural identification scores were different from the midpoint of the scale in most conditions. Specifically, participants who read about the accommodative and integrative Luisa perceived her to be strongly identified with both American and her heritage

culture. As theorized by the acculturation framework, participants perceived Luisa to be simultaneously seeking to actively participate in American culture, such as attending U.S. cultural events, while also maintaining the cultural practices and traditions of her heritage culture, such as sustaining ties to the Hispanic/Latino community and attending Hispanic/Latino cultural events. Embedded within this integration strategy, Luisa was perceived to be accommodative during communicative interactions with native English speakers in the United States. She communicated readiness and willingness to adapt her communication behaviors when necessary. She voiced desire to use English but to also maintain her Spanish language competence.

Results for the high accommodation/assimilation condition were also theoretically sound. Those participants who read about the highly accommodative and assimilated Luisa perceived her to be strongly identified with American culture, but weakly identified with her heritage culture. Results also indicated a significant difference between the mean scores for identification with American culture and identification with heritage culture. As designed, and in accordance with the acculturation framework and communication accommodation theory, Luisa was perceived to be seeking full participation in American culture while dissolving ties to her heritage culture. Within this assimilation to American culture, Luisa also communicated a desire to speak English as similarly as possible to native English speakers, demonstrating a high willingness to adapt her communication behaviors to meet the needs of interacting with native-English-speaking U.S. Americans.

As with the previous two conditions, results for the nonaccommodation/separation condition also reflected the guiding theories. Participants who read about the nonaccommodative and separated Luisa perceived her to be highly identified with her heritage culture, but weakly

identified with American culture. Additionally, results indicated a significant difference between the mean scores for identification with American culture and identification with heritage culture. As designed, and in accordance with the acculturation framework, participants perceived Luisa was avoiding participation in U.S. culture in favor of maintaining her cultural heritage. Within this separation strategy, Luisa demonstrated disinterest and unwillingness in adapting her communication to be more like those of native-English-speaking U.S. Americans, reflecting a nonaccommodative stance.

The final condition, nonaccommodation/marginalization, presented slight theoretical inconsistencies. Participants who read about the nonaccommodative and marginalized Luisa perceived her to be neither strongly nor weakly identified with either culture. Contradictory to these results, acculturation literature (Berry, 2006) indicates the marginalization strategy should be associated with low or weak identification with both home and host culture. Similarly, communication accommodation theory argues that a nonaccommodation would be marked by a person's low (not moderate) willingness, capacity, or effort to adapt their communication behaviors to meet the needs of the interaction (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012, 2015). As these results strayed slightly from the guiding theories, they indicated a need for revision of the experimental materials.

After verifying that the identification scores in each condition generally followed the theoretically-predicted directions, scores were compared within each accommodation/acculturation scenario condition to further assess the theoretical fit. Comparisons of the identification scores within each accommodation/acculturation scenario condition were overall consistent with the acculturation literature. Even though participants in the accommodation/integration scenario found Luisa to be more strongly identified with American culture than with

her heritage culture, this finding did not contradict or violate acculturation expectations, especially when considering the unique characteristics and circumstances described by Luisa. She explained that she was a recent arrival to the United States, having immigrated only two years prior. She indicated that she made adjustments to her communication when necessary and when she was able, and that she was interested in both American and her traditional cultural customs. These details came together to construct an impression of Luisa that was still engaged in the ongoing process of adapting to American culture while maintaining psychological and social connections to her heritage culture.

Similarly, participants in the nonaccommodation/marginalization found Luisa to be more strongly identified with her heritage culture than with American culture. Again, this did not necessarily violate theoretical expectations. In this scenario, Luisa indicated that she had lost touch with contacts from her heritage culture but had not replaced those social connections in the United States, either with Americans or Hispanic/Latinos. Further, she indicated feeling overwhelmed by American culture, unable to adapt and communicate effectively. These circumstances may have indicated to participants that in her time in the United States, Luisa had not yet established connections to American culture, and while her connection to her heritage was diminishing, it was still slightly more prominent than her identification with American culture.

Reflective of the acculturation framework, participants in the high accommodation/assimilation and nonaccommodation/separation conditions perceived Luisa's cultural identification with her heritage and American cultures to be significantly different. Participants in high accommodation/assimilation condition perceived Luisa to be more strongly identified with American culture than with her heritage culture. Oppositely, participants in the

nonaccommodation/separation condition perceived Luisa to be more strongly identified with her heritage culture than with American culture.

Lastly, comparison of cultural identification scores across conditions to further solidified the theoretical consistency of the design. Luisa's perceived identification with American culture was significantly different across all conditions. Participants in the high accommodation/assimilation condition perceived Luisa to be the most strongly identified with American culture, followed by the accommodation/integration scenario, then the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, and finally the nonaccommodation/separation condition. Similarly, Luisa's perceived identification with her heritage culture was significantly different across all four conditions. Participants in the nonaccommodation/separation condition perceived Luisa to be the most strongly identified with her heritage culture, followed by the accommodation/integration condition, then the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, and finally the high accommodation/assimilation condition.

In summary, pilot 1 indicated the appropriate terminology to be used in the main study. Additionally, results and analysis suggested the reliability of the major measurements, as well as the effectiveness of the instructions within the materials. Importantly, results indicated the overall successful manipulations of both independent variables. However, there were minor issues to be addressed, namely the negative social attributions about nonnative English speakers and foreign accents, as well as the nonaccommodation/marginalization scenario condition.

Pilot 2

The second pilot study addressed the theoretical inconsistencies indicated by pilot 1. First, the negative social attribution condition was revised to more clearly indicate the negative stereotypes and social attributions associated with speaking English as a foreign language and

with a foreign accent. The attribution manipulation scale was also edited by rephrasing certain items and adding additional items to the scale. Second, the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition was revised to more clearly describe Luisa as weakly identified with both American and her heritage cultures. Pilot 2 consisted of a randomized, 2 (social attribution condition) x 2 (accommodation/ acculturation scenario condition) posttest only experiment.

Participants

Participants for pilot 2 included 106 undergraduate students ($M_{age} = 19.34$, $SD = 1.63$, range = 18-26) attending a medium-sized Midwestern university. Participants were recruited from a university-wide required introductory communication course and received partial course credit for their participation. Of the participants, 64 (60.4%) were female, 41 (38.7%) were male, and one (0.9%) did not indicate their sex identification. The majority of participants identified as White/Caucasian (89; 84.0%), while 5 (4.7%) identified as Asian; 2 (1.9%) as Hispanic/Latino; 3 (2.8%) as Black/African American; 6 (5.7%) as bi- or multi-racial; and one (.9%) as none of the above categories. In terms of language use, the participants were primarily monolingual, native English speakers (81; 76.4%), while a large portion (21; 19.8%) spoke two languages, and a small group (4; 3.8%) spoke three languages.

The majority of the sample was Republican (40; 37.4%), while 38 (35.8%) identified as Democrats; 13 (12.3%) as Independents; 6 (5.7%) as Libertarians; and 9 (8.4%) participants identified with some other, unspecified political entity. The average political ideology, measured on a 1-7 Likert scale where 1 = extremely conservative and 7 = extremely liberal, was moderate ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.65$).

Lastly, the revised host community acculturation scale (r-HCAS; Montreuil, Bourhis, & Vanbeselaere, 2004) measured the participants' (i.e., members of the dominant host culture)

orientations toward immigration acculturation. Participants responded to three items on a 1-7 Likert scale, where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree, where higher responses indicated more positive, welcoming orientations toward immigration. Participants' overall attitudes to immigration were negative (overall $M = 2.49$, $SD = 1.12$).

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two social attribution experimental conditions (i.e., the paragraphs describing either positive or negative attributions of nonnative English speakers and foreign accents). Of the participants, 53 (50.0%) were randomly assigned to the positive social attribution condition, while 53 (50.0%) of participants were randomly assigned to the negative condition. After reading the assigned paragraph, participants answered a manipulation check questionnaire.

Then, participants were randomly assigned to one of two accommodation/acculturation experimental conditions (i.e., scenarios describing the immigrant target's English-speaking behaviors and acculturative strategy). Of the participants, 53 (50.0%) were randomly assigned to the nonaccommodation/separation scenario; and 53 (50.0%) to the nonaccommodation/marginalization scenario. After reading the assigned scenario, participants answered a manipulation check questionnaire. Lastly, participants proceeded to complete the revised measures for one of the major variables intended for use in the main study.

Materials

Social attribution message. Both the positive and negative social attribution messages about nonnative English speakers from pilot 1 were revised for inclusion in pilot 2. Each revised message (see Appendix F) included an introductory sentence that situated the topic of the paragraph as speakers who learn English as a foreign language and have a nonnative accent.

Second, the paragraph discussed the linguistic competence, or command of the English language, associated with nonnative speakers with foreign accents. Third, the paragraph discussed the perceptions and impressions of native English speakers. Lastly, the paragraph concluded with a closing sentence that stated whether speaking English as a foreign language with a nonnative accent was a positive or negative trait. In what follows, the revisions to both the positive and negative social attribution paragraphs are explained in further detail.

Positive social attribution. Revisions to the positive social attribution paragraph were mainly deletions to maintain equal word count with the negative paragraph. As in pilot 1, the positive social attribution paragraph opened the topic by acknowledging that individuals who speak English as a foreign language do have a foreign, but interesting and appealing, accent. Then, the paragraph addressed linguistic competence by explaining that foreign accents are a natural outcome of speaking multiple languages and in no way affect a person's overall ability to speak English proficiently. Next, the paragraph elaborated on native English speakers' enthusiasm for communicating with nonnative English speakers, since nonnative English speakers are empathic, outgoing, and eager to become friends with U.S. Americans. The paragraph also summarized research suggesting that nonnative English speakers have prolonged defenses against degenerative cognitive diseases such as Alzheimer's. Finally, the positive paragraph closed by stating that, given all of these benefits, speaking a foreign language has many advantages.

Negative social attribution. The negative social attribution paragraph opened the topic by stating that individuals who speak English as a foreign language have a foreign and heavy accent that is hard to understand. Then, the paragraph addressed linguistic competence by explaining that nonnative English speakers often mispronounce English words, and that these

pronunciations indicate that they cannot speak English proficiently. Next, the paragraph stated that native English speakers often report frustrations about communicating with nonnative English speakers, particularly their unfamiliarity with English slang and idioms. The paragraph indicated that due to these frustrations, it is difficult for native and nonnative English speakers to become friends. Lastly, the paragraph closed by stating that, given all of these problems, speaking a foreign language with a heavy foreign accent has many disadvantages.

Social attribution manipulation check. Three items checked the manipulation of the two (i.e., positive and negative) social attribution conditions ($\alpha = .80$; see Appendix G). Items included, (1) Speaking English as a foreign language is generally regarded positively, (2) Communicating with nonnative English speakers is frustrating [reverse coded], and (3) Nonnative English speakers' accents interfere with their ability to communicate effectively [reverse coded]. Participants' responded on 7-point Likert scales, where 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, and 7 = strongly agree. Higher scores indicated more agreement and thus more positive attributions toward nonnative English speakers and speaking with a foreign accent.

Scenarios. Two accommodation/acculturation scenarios, the nonaccommodation/separation scenario and the nonaccommodation/marginalization scenario, were revised for pilot 2 (see Appendix H). Each scenario began with a brief introduction paragraph describing current immigration trends in the U.S. and stating the increased likelihood for contact between native English speakers and nonnative English-speaking immigrants. The introduction paragraph then introduced Luisa, the nonnative-English speaking, immigrant target. The specific revisions to each scenario are detailed below.

Nonaccommodation/Separation. The revisions to the nonaccommodation/separation scenario were primarily descriptors added to clarify Luisa's heritage culture. This scenario began with the opening constant sentence, which stated the duration that Luisa has been living in the United States. Then, Luisa discussed her accent, stating that she knew she had an accent, but did not try to change it. In fact, Luisa expressed pride in her accent. Next, Luisa described her accommodative stance, saying that she maintained her communication behaviors no matter the situation and did not try to match the communication behaviors of native English speakers. Lastly, Luisa described her acculturation strategy, explaining the various ways in which her heritage culture and native language were more important to her than American culture, and her desire to maintain her cultural heritage, even if it meant avoiding U.S. American culture.

Nonaccommodation/Marginalization. The revisions to the nonaccommodation/marginalization scenario clarified Luisa's lack of identification with both American and her heritage culture. This scenario began with the opening constant sentence, which stated the duration that Luisa has been living in the United States. Then, Luisa discussed her accent, stating that she knew she has an accent, but that there was nothing she could do to change it. Next, Luisa described her psychological accommodative stance, saying that she was not motivated to match the communication behaviors of native English speakers. Lastly, Luisa described her acculturation strategy, explaining that she felt stressed about communicating in English because she did not understand U.S. communication norms. She described her lack of socialization with U.S. Americans, her trouble connecting with other Hispanics and Latinos in the United States, and her preference for spending time by herself.

Cultural identification manipulation check. Twelve total items (see Appendix I) measured Luisa's identification with American and her Hispanic/Latino heritage culture. Using a

7-point Likert scale, where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree, six items measured Luisa's perceived identification with American culture ($\alpha = .92$; e.g., American culture is important to Luisa), and six items measured Luisa's perceived identification with her heritage culture ($\alpha = .97$; e.g., Luisa's heritage culture is important to her).

Inferred cognitive motive. Three items ($\alpha = .76$; see Appendix K) measured *inferred cognitive motive*, or the degree to which participants viewed Luisa's behavior as motivated by a desire for the interaction to be efficient and comprehensible. For these three items, higher numbers indicated an increased perception of cognitive motives behind Luisa's behaviors. Participants responded on 7-point Likert scales, where 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, and 7 = strongly agree.

Results of Pilot 2

A series of *t*-tests checked the manipulation of the social attribution conditions. First, results of an independent samples *t*-test confirmed that the mean score for the positive social attribution condition ($M = 5.13$, $SD = 1.12$) was significantly higher than the mean score for the negative social attribution condition ($M = 3.75$, $SD = 1.48$, $t(104) = 5.42$, $p < .001$). Second, results of a one-sample *t*-test demonstrated that the mean score for the positive condition was significantly above the midpoint, $t(52) = 7.39$, $p < .001$, while the mean score for the negative condition was not significantly different from the midpoint, $t(52) = -1.21$, $p = .23$. These results confirmed the successful manipulation of the positive condition, given that those participants in this condition reported positive attributions of nonnative English speakers. However, results indicate that the negative condition was associated with moderate attributions about nonnative English speakers.

Next, a final series of *t*-tests verified the successful manipulation of the accommodation/acculturation scenario conditions. Results of a one-sample *t*-test indicated that for the nonaccommodation/separation condition, participants perceived Luisa to be strongly identified with her heritage culture ($M = 6.04$, $SD = .86$, $t(51) = 16.43$, $p < .001$) and weakly identified with American culture ($M = 3.64$, $SD = .1.26$, $t(52) = -2.11$, $p < .05$). Furthermore, results of a paired samples *t*-test confirmed that these two cultural identification means are statistically different from one another, $t(51) = -9.86$, $p < .001$. For the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, participants perceived Luisa to be weakly identified with both her heritage culture ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.40$, $t(52) = -3.38$, $p < .01$) and American culture ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.12$, $t(52) = -8.42$, $p < .001$). Again, results of a paired samples *t*-test verified that these means were statistically different from one another, $t(52) = -5.07$, $p < .001$. Results for both of these conditions demonstrated theoretical consistency.

Discussion of Pilot 2

Pilot 2 addressed the theoretical inconsistencies uncovered by pilot 1, namely, the social attribution manipulation check for the negative condition, as well as the cultural identification manipulation check for the nonaccommodation/ marginalization condition. Results indicated that these inconsistencies were resolved and that the manipulations were successful.

First, the revisions to the social attribution conditions yielded a successful manipulation of participants' attributions of nonnative English speakers. As designed, the mean score for the positive condition was high, while the mean score for the negative condition was moderate. Furthermore, the mean score for the positive social attribution condition was significantly higher than the mean score for the negative social attribution condition, indicating that those in the positive condition reported more positive attributions of nonnative speakers.

Second, the revisions to the accommodation/acculturation yielded a successful manipulation of the participants' perceptions of Luisa's identification with American culture, and her identification with her Hispanic/Latino heritage culture. For the nonaccommodation/separation condition, participants perceived Luisa to be strongly identified with her heritage culture and weakly identified with American culture, reflecting the separation strategy delineated by acculturation theory. In the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, participants perceived Luisa to be weakly identified with both her Hispanic/Latino heritage culture and American culture. Again, these results reflect the marginalization strategy indicated by acculturation theory. Hence, pilot 2 resolved the theoretical issues identified in pilot 1, thus the main study was launched.

Main Study

The two pilot studies were conducted to address concerns related to ethnolinguistic group terminology, and to ensure the reliabilities of the major variables, the validity of the manipulation of the independent variables, and the clarity of the items, instructions, and other study materials (refer to Appendix O for the complete main study questionnaire). To test the hypothesis proposed in the theoretical model, analysis included a series of multivariate analyses of covariance (MANCOVAs), post hoc analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs), and mediation analysis (using Model 4 of PROCESS for SPSS).

Participants

Participants ($N = 944$) were recruited in two ways. The majority of participants ($n = 928$) were recruited using Turk Prime Panels, a participant recruitment service that operates through Amazon Web Services. Eligibility was restricted to U.S. citizens, residing in the United States, who spoke English as a native language. Participants were paid \$1.25 to complete the study, and

completion took an average of 17 minutes. A small group of Turk Prime Panels responses were excluded due to excessive missing data and/or inappropriate responses. An additional small fraction of participants ($n = 16$) were recruited through the introductory communication course at a large Midwest university.

The majority of participants ($n = 634$; 67.2%) identified as female, while 306 participants (32.4%) identified as male, and four participants (.4%) identified as nonbinary. The average age of the participants was 48.44 years ($SD = 17.09$). Additionally, the majority ($n = 767$; 81.4%) of participants identified as White, while 82 (8.7%) identified as Black and/or African American; 40 (4.2%) as Hispanic/Latino; 20 (2.1%) as Asian; 13 (1.4%) as American Indian, Native American, and/or Alaskan Native. A total of 20 participants (2.1%) identified as bi- or multiracial and two participants (.2%) did not disclose their racial identity. In terms of languages spoken, the majority of participants ($n = 788$; 83.5%) were monolingual, while a moderate portion ($n = 128$; 13.1%) were bilingual, and a small group of participants spoke three or more languages ($n = 32$; 3.3%). The majority of participants ($n = 358$; 38.0%) identified as Democrats, followed by 282 (29.9%) who identified as Independents; 257 (27.3%) who identified as Republicans; 18 (1.9%) who identified as Libertarians; and 29 (3.1%) who identified with some other, unspecified political entity. Ideologically speaking, participants were moderate ($M = 3.99$; $SD = 1.68$).

Procedure

Participants first reported their attitudes and expectations toward the acculturation practices of Hispanic/Latino immigrants (see Appendix I) and completed a brief demographic survey (see Appendix J). Then participants were randomly assigned to one of the two social attribution experimental conditions (i.e., the paragraphs describing either positive or negative

attributions of nonnative English speakers and foreign accents), or a control condition (i.e., no paragraph). Of the participants, 309 (32.7%) were randomly assigned to the positive social attribution condition, while 320 (33.9%) of participants were randomly assigned to the negative condition, and 315 (33.4%) were assigned to the control condition. After reading the assigned paragraph (or being redirected past the paragraph for those in the control condition), participants answered a manipulation check questionnaire.

Then, participants were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions (i.e., scenarios describing the immigrant target's English-speaking behaviors and acculturative strategy). Of the participants, 236 (25.0%) were randomly assigned to the accommodation/integration scenario; 238 (25.2%) to the accommodation/assimilation scenario; 233 (24.7%) to the nonaccommodation/separation scenario; and 237 (25.1%) to the nonaccommodation/marginalization scenario. After reading the assigned scenario, participants answered a manipulation check questionnaire. Lastly, participants proceeded to complete the measures for the major variables.

Materials

Social attribution message. The social attribution messages about nonnative English speakers and foreign accents from pilot two were also used in the main study, with the addition of a control condition that contains no paragraph, only instructions for the participant to proceed to the rest of the survey (see Appendix K).

Social attribution manipulation check. One item (overall $M = 4.35$; $SD = 1.95$) checked the manipulation of the two (i.e., positive and negative) social attribution conditions (see Appendix L). Participants responded to the item, "According to the paragraph, speaking a

foreign language is regarded positively” on a 7-point Likert scale, where 1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, and 7 = strongly agree.

Scenarios. Two conditions from pilot 1 (i.e., the high accommodation/ assimilation scenario and accommodation/integration scenario) and two conditions from pilot 2 (i.e., the nonaccommodation/separation scenario and nonaccommodation/ marginalization scenario) were used in the main study (see Appendix M).

Accommodation/acculturation manipulation check. Sixteen items checked the manipulation of Luisa’s perceived willingness to adapt her linguistic and communication behaviors, and her perceived identification with American culture and her heritage culture in the four accommodation/acculturation scenarios (see Appendix N). Four items (overall $M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.67$, $\alpha = .73$) verified that participants in each condition perceived the intended psychological accommodative stance from Luisa (e.g., Luisa is capable of adapting her behaviors to meet the needs of native English speakers.). Six items measured Luisa’s perceived identification with American culture (overall $M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.66$, $\alpha = .92$; e.g., American culture is important to Luisa), and six items measured Luisa’s perceived identification with her heritage culture (overall $M = 4.64$, $SD = 1.74$, $\alpha = .97$; e.g., Luisa’s heritage culture is important to her).

Major Variables

Several major variables were measured after exposure to the experimental conditions that were treated as either covariates or dependent variables. Scales used in the main study for all major variables can be found in Appendix O.

Inferred motive. Inferred motive, measuring participants’ perceptions of the target’s intentions and motives behind her communication and acculturation behaviors, included four constructs: intentionality, inferred cognitive motive, inferred affective motive, and overall

valence. Items measuring these constructs were adapted from prior research on nonaccommodation (Gasiorek, 2015, 2016; Gasiorek & Giles, 2012, 2015).

Four 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 4.84$, $SD = 1.24$, $\alpha = .79$) measured *perceived intentionality*, the degree to which participants perceived that the target deliberately and consciously elected her communication and acculturation behaviors (e.g., ‘Luisa’s behaviors while communicating with Americans are intentional’; ‘Luisa cannot help the way she communicates.’; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree).

Three 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.52$, $\alpha = .84$) measured *inferred cognitive motive*, the degree to which participants viewed the target’s behavior as motivated by a desire for the interaction to be efficient and comprehensible (e.g., ‘Luisa wants native-English-speaking Americans to easily understand her’; ‘Luisa is not concerned about her interactions with native-English-speaking Americans being efficient’; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree).

Three 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 4.44$, $SD = 1.52$, $\alpha = .82$) measured *inferred affective motive*, the degree to which participants viewed Luisa’s behavior as motivated by concerns of liking and managing social distance between speakers (e.g., ‘Luisa wants to be liked by native-English-speaking Americans’; ‘Luisa pays attention to whether or not her communication behaviors are similar to native-English-speaking Americans’; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree).

Finally, one 7-point Likert item (overall $M = 4.97$, $SD = 1.64$) measured the *overall valence* of Luisa’s motives for the behaviors described throughout the entire paragraph (e.g., ‘Luisa has good intentions behind her communication behaviors’; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree).

Perceived accommodation. Five 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 4.53$, $SD = 1.37$, $\alpha = .90$) measured perceived accommodation, or participants' evaluations of the target's communication and acculturation behaviors, (e.g., 'Luisa's behaviors while interacting with native-English-speaking Americans are satisfactory'; 'Luisa's behaviors while interacting with native-English-speaking Americans are necessary for effective communication'; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). Items were adapted from Gasiorrek's (2015) perceived accommodation scale.

Social attraction. Six 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 4.79$, $SD = 1.44$, $\alpha = .96$) measured social attraction, the degree to which participants feel interested in spending time with Luisa and her fit to their social circle, (e.g., 'I think Luisa could be a friend of mine'; 'Luisa would be easy to get along with'; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). Items were adapted from Imamura and colleague's (2011) relational solidarity scale.

Prototypicality. Four 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 4.08$, $SD = 1.41$, $\alpha = .91$) measured Luisa's prototypicality, or the degree to which participants perceived Luisa to be representative of the Hispanic/Latino immigrant group, ('I consider Luisa to be a typical Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrant,' and 'Luisa is similar to Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants as a whole'; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). Items were created for the current study.

Self-Esteem. Ten 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 4.98$, $SD = 1.16$, $\alpha = .95$) measured the target's self-esteem, or the degree to which participants see Luisa as satisfied with herself, respectful of herself, (e.g., 'Luisa feels that she has a number of good qualities'; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). Items were adapted from Rosenberg's (1967) self-esteem scale (Sinclair, Blais, Gansler, Sandberg, Bistis, & LoCicero, 2010).

Intergroup communication anxiety toward the target. Fourteen 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.14$, $\alpha = .94$) measured intergroup communication anxiety toward the target, or participants' reported anxiety about potentially communicating with the target, (e.g., 'When interacting with Luisa, I would feel awkward,; 'When interacting with Luisa, I would feel suspicious'; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). Items were adapted from Stephan and Stephan's (1985) intergroup communication anxiety scale.

Willingness to communicate. Four 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 5.32$, $SD = 1.41$, $\alpha = .97$) measured willingness to communicate, or participants' willingness to communicate with the target, (e.g., 'How willing are you to initiate conversation with Luisa?'; 'How willing are you to talk to Luisa?'; 1 = extremely unwilling to 7 = extremely willing). Items were adapted from Imamura, Zhang, and Shim's (2012) willingness to communicate scale.

Willingness to accommodate. Eight 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 5.54$, $SD = 1.05$, $\alpha = .94$) measured participants' willingness to accommodate to the target, or their willingness to adapt aspects of their communication in response to the needs of the target, (e.g., 'When interacting with Luisa, I would be willing to speak slower,' 'When interacting with Luisa, I would be willing to avoid interrupting her. '; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). Items were adapted from Imamura and colleague's (2011) willingness to accommodate scale.

Affective attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants. Nine 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 5.01$, $SD = 1.23$, $\alpha = .94$) measured participants' affective attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, or their feelings and emotions related to this social group, (e.g., 'I have warm feelings for Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants,' 'I feel friendly toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants. '; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). Items were adapted from Tropp and Pettigrew's (2005) scale measuring general outgroup attitudes.

Intergroup communication anxiety toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants in general. Fourteen 7-point Likert items (overall $M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.04$, $\alpha = .93$) measured intergroup communication anxiety toward the Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants in general, or participants' reported anxiety about potentially communicating with a Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrant, (e.g., 'When interacting with a Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrant, I would feel awkward,; 'When interacting with a Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrant, I would feel suspicious'; 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). Items were adapted from Stephan and Stephan's (1985) intergroup communication anxiety scale.

Main Study Manipulation Check

A series of *t*-tests verified the successful manipulations of the two independent variables in the main study.

Social attribution about nonnative English speakers. Results of an independent samples *t*-test indicated that participants who read the positive paragraph reported more positive attributions about nonnative English speakers and foreign accents ($M = 5.53$, $SD = 1.33$) than those participants who read the negative paragraph ($M = 3.21$, $SD = 1.77$), $t(626) = 18.05$, $p < .001$. Furthermore, a one-sample *t*-test indicated a statistically significant difference from the midpoint of the scale (i.e., 4) for both the positive mean, $t(308) = 20.24$, $p < .001$, and the negative mean, $t(318) = -8.03$, $p < .001$. These results indicated the successful manipulation of the social attribution experimental conditions.

Cultural identification. Three steps ensured the successful manipulations of Luisa's perceived cultural identification. First, a series of one-sample *t*-tests was run. Significant results indicated that Luisa's perceived identification was significantly different from the midpoint (i.e., 4) of the scale. Results are summarized in Table 3. For the accommodation/integration scenario,

participants perceived Luisa to be strongly identified with American culture ($M = 5.35$, $SD = .98$, $t(226) = 20.86$, $p < .001$) and strongly identified with her heritage culture ($M = 5.67$, $SD = .98$, $t(228) = 25.69$, $p < .001$). For the high accommodation/ assimilation scenario, participants perceived Luisa to be strongly identified with American culture ($M = 5.83$, $SD = .96$, $t(234) = 28.80$, $p < .001$) and weakly identified with her heritage culture ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.34$, $t(234) = -8.59$, $p < .001$). For the nonaccommodation/separation scenario, participants perceived Luisa to be weakly identified with American culture ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 1.33$, $t(227) = -6.11$, $p < .001$) and strongly identified with her heritage culture ($M = 6.11$, $SD = .92$, $t(228) = 34.76$, $p < .001$). Lastly, for the nonaccommodation/marginalization scenario, participants' perceived Luisa to be weakly identified with both American culture ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 1.44$, $t(232) = -8.59$, $p < .001$) and her heritage culture ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 1.53$, $t(231) = -3.95$, $p < .001$). Based on the results of this first step, the manipulations for all four conditions fit the theoretical frameworks so far.

Next, independent samples t -tests compared the identification scores across conditions. For identification with American culture, results indicated that the accommodation/integration score was significantly different from the high accommodation/assimilation score, $t(460) = -5.29$, $p < .001$, as well as the nonaccommodation/separation score, $t(453) = 17.25$, $p < .001$, and the nonaccommodation/marginalization score $t(458) = 18.82$, $p < .001$. Similarly, the mean score for the high accommodation/assimilation scenario was significantly different from the nonaccommodation/separation score, $t(461) = 21.89$, $p < .001$ and the nonaccommodation/marginalization score $t(466) = 23.29$, $p < .001$. Finally, results indicated that the nonaccommodation/separation score was significantly different from the nonaccommodation/marginalization score, $t(459) = 2.08$, $p < .05$. These results further demonstrated consistency with the theoretical frameworks.

Table 3

Main Study Manipulation Check: Comparisons of Means and Standard Deviations for Identification with American and Heritage Culture Within and Across Accommodation/Acculturation Scenario Conditions.

	American Culture		Heritage Culture	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
High Accommodation/Assimilation	5.83 ^a	.96	3.25 ^d	1.34
Accommodation/Integration	5.35 ^b	.98	5.67 ^c	.98
Nonaccommodation/Separation	3.46 ^c	1.33	6.11 ^b	.92
Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	3.19 ^d	1.44	3.60 ^a	1.53

Note. Means with different superscripts in row and columns vary significantly from one another at $p < .05$.

For identification with heritage culture, results indicated that the accommodation/integration score was significantly different from the high accommodation/assimilation score, $t(462) = 22.11, p < .001$, as well as the nonaccommodation/separation score $t(456) = -4.97, p < .001$, and the nonaccommodation/marginalization score, $t(459) = 17.22, p < .001$. Similarly, the mean score for the high accommodation/assimilation scenario was significantly different from the nonaccommodation/separation score, $t(462) = -26.74, p < .001$, and the nonaccommodation/marginalization score, $t(465) = -2.67, p < .01$. Finally, results indicated that the nonaccommodation/separation score was significantly different from the nonaccommodation/marginalization score, $t(459) = 21.30, p < .001$. These results demonstrated consistency with the theoretical frameworks.

Lastly, paired samples t -tests (with American culture as the pre-test and scores for identification with heritage culture as the posttest) compared the mean scores for identification with American and heritage culture within each condition. Results indicated a significant difference between the mean scores for identification with American culture and identification

with heritage culture in the accommodation/integration condition, $t(222) = -6.26, p < .001$; the high accommodation/assimilation condition, $t(232) = 20.30, p < .001$; the nonaccommodation/separation condition, $t(223) = -21.22, p < .001$; and the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, $t(227) = -5.74, p < .001$. These results suggest consistency with the theoretical frameworks.

Based on the results of these one-sample, independent samples, and paired samples t -tests, Luisa's perceived identification with American culture and her heritage culture was successful across all four experimental conditions. Thus, all experimental manipulations for both independent variables were successful.

Participant's perceptions of the target's perceived prototypicality (i.e., how representative she is of her ethnolinguistic group) were also measured. Results indicated that participants in the nonaccommodation/separation condition ($M = 4.64, SD = 1.24$) rated the target as the most prototypical, followed by participants in the accommodation/integration condition ($M = 4.41, SD = 1.23; t(467) = -1.99, p < .05$), then participants in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition ($M = 3.86, SD = 1.41; t(470) = 4.57, p < .001$), and finally participants in the high accommodation/assimilation condition ($M = 3.40, SD = 1.41; t(471) = -3.47, p < .01$).

Participant's perceptions of the target's perceived self-esteem were also measured. Results indicated that participants in the nonaccommodation/separation ($M = 5.58, SD = .95$) and accommodation/integration ($M = 5.43, SD = 1.01$) conditions perceived the highest self-esteem from the target, $t(456) = -1.72, p = .09$, followed by participants in the high accommodation/assimilation condition ($M = 4.98, SD = 1.02; t(462) = 4.69, p < .001$), and lastly participants in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition ($M = 3.93, SD = .88; t(465) = 12.05, p < .001$).

Results of the analysis of prototypicality and self-esteem indicated that both constructs were moderate across conditions. Despite the fact that there were significant differences in perceptions of prototypicality, they were near the midpoint of the scale. These results suggest that participants found the target to be neither overly representative nor an atypical representative of her respective social group. Similarly, no condition elicited self-esteem scores indicating the participants perceived the target to be severely depressed or self-hating.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The current experimental study examined the effects of social attributions (i.e., positive or negative) about nonnative English speakers and their accents, as well as the effects of cultural and language adaptation strategies (i.e., accommodation/integration; high accommodation/assimilation; nonaccommodation/separation; and nonaccommodation/marginalization) on native-English-speaking U.S. American participants' perceptions of and attitudes toward both a specific immigrant target as well as the ethnolinguistic group the target represents.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 predicted main effects of social attribution and accommodation/acculturation strategy, as well as the social attribution by accommodation/acculturation strategy interaction effect on the major dependent variables, a) inferred motive (i.e., intentionality, cognitive inferred motive, affective inferred motive); b) judgments of the target speaker (i.e., perceived accommodation, social attraction, intergroup communication anxiety); c) willingness to engage the target speaker (i.e., willingness to communicate, willingness to accommodate); and d) intergroup perceptions (i.e., intergroup communication anxiety, affective attitudes) toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants in general. Hypotheses 1 through 3 were tested using a series of 3 (social attribution: positive, negative, and control) x 4 (accommodation/acculturation strategy: accommodation/integration, high accommodation/assimilation, nonaccommodation/separation, and nonaccommodation/marginalization) multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA; covariates: race (White and non-White), sex, education, age, number of languages spoken, attitudes toward immigration, and political ideology). Results are summarized by independent variables in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4

Main Study Results: Means and Standard Deviations Across Social Attribution Conditions for the Major Variables.

	Conditions					
	Positive		Control		Negative	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intentionality	4.89 ^a	.07	4.88 ^a	.07	4.80 ^a	.07
Inferred Cognitive Motive	4.65 ^a	.07	4.73 ^a	.07	4.67 ^a	.07
Inferred Affective Motive	4.43 ^a	.07	4.44 ^a	.07	4.47 ^a	.07
Overall Valence of Motive	5.07 ^a	.08	4.92 ^a	.08	4.93 ^a	.08
Perceived Accommodation	4.58 ^a	.07	4.50 ^a	.07	4.49 ^a	.07
Social Attraction	4.83 ^a	.07	4.73 ^a	.07	4.77 ^a	.07
Intergroup Communication Anxiety toward Target	3.20 ^a	.06	3.35 ^a	.06	3.30 ^a	.06
Willingness to Communicate	5.33 ^a	.08	5.27 ^a	.08	5.28 ^a	.08
Willingness to Accommodate	5.53 ^a	.06	5.50 ^a	.06	5.56 ^a	.06
Affective Attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino(a) Immigrants	5.08 ^a	.06	4.99 ^a	.06	4.99 ^a	.06
Intergroup Communication Anxiety Hispanic/Latino(a) Immigrants	3.06 ^a	.06	3.16 ^a	.05	3.18 ^a	.05

Note. Means are adjusted for the covariance of age, sex, race, education, number of languages spoken, attitudes toward acculturation, and political ideology. Adjusted means with the same superscripts in rows do not differ significantly, * $p > .001$ (Cronbach's alpha was adjusted using Bonferroni method).

Table 5

Main Study Results: Means and Standard Deviations Across Accommodation/Acculturation Scenario Conditions for the Major Variables.

	Conditions							
	High Accommodation/ Assimilation		Accommodation/ Integration		Nonaccommodation/ Separation		Nonaccommodation/ Marginalization	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intentionality	5.36 ^a	.07	4.62 ^b	.08	5.21 ^a	.08	4.24 ^c	.08
Inferred Cognitive Motive	5.77 ^a	.08	5.57 ^a	.08	3.68 ^b	.08	3.70 ^b	.08
Inferred Affective Motive	5.62 ^a	.08	5.29 ^b	.08	3.26 ^c	.08	3.62 ^c	.08
Overall Valence of Motive	5.57 ^a	.08	6.02 ^b	.08	4.41 ^c	.10	3.88 ^d	.10
Perceived Accommodation	5.12 ^a	.06	5.39 ^b	.07	4.11 ^c	.08	3.47 ^d	.08
Social Attraction	5.42 ^a	.07	5.65 ^a	.07	4.22 ^b	.09	3.82 ^c	.09
Intergroup Communication Anxiety toward Target	2.80 ^a	.07	2.81 ^a	.06	3.54 ^b	.08	3.98 ^c	.06
Willingness to Communicate	5.76 ^a	.08	5.72 ^a	.07	4.84 ^b	.11	4.90 ^b	.09
Willingness to Accommodate	5.64 ^a	.06	5.63 ^a	.07	5.27 ^b	.08	5.61 ^a	.07
Affective Attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino(a) Immigrants	5.17 ^a	.08	5.05 ^a	.08	4.87 ^a	.09	4.96 ^a	.08
Intergroup Communication Anxiety Hispanic/Latino(a) Immigrants	2.97 ^a	.07	3.08 ^a	.07	3.20 ^a	.07	3.30 ^a	.07

Note. Means are adjusted for the covariance of age, sex, race, education, number of languages spoken, attitudes toward acculturation, and political ideology. Adjusted means with different superscripts in rows differ significantly at * $p < .001$ (Cronbach's alpha was adjusted using Bonferroni method).

Inferred Motive. In order to test H1a, H2a, and H3a, the first MANCOVA was conducted with intentionality, inferred cognitive and affective motives, and overall valence of motives as the dependent variables. Controlling for the effects of the covariates, results of the MANCOVA indicated a significant overall effect of accommodation/acclturation strategy on participant perceptions of Luisa's inferred motive, Wilk's $\lambda = .44$, $F(9, 2139.41) = 93.30$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .24$. However, the main effect of social attribution conditions, Wilk's $\lambda = 1.00$, $F(6, 1,758) = .52$, $p = .79$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, and the interaction between social attribution and accommodation/acclturation strategy, Wilk's $\lambda = .99$, $F(18, 2,486) = .67$, $p = .84$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, were nonsignificant. Thus, H1_a and H3_a were not supported.

For the significant accommodation/acclturation strategy multivariate effect, univariate tests indicated that the accommodation/acclturation strategies had a significant effect on intentionality, $F(3, 789) = 47.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$; inferred cognitive motive, $F(3, 789) = 293.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .43$; inferred affective motive, $F(3, 789) = 238.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .45$, and overall valence, $F(3, 789) = 101.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .28$.

Four post hoc ANCOVAs (controlling for the same covariates) were conducted to explore the differences in the inferred motive variables across the accommodation/acclturation conditions. For all pairwise comparisons, Bonferroni adjustments were made to alphas to control for Type I error (Green & Salkind, 2011).

Intentionality. Post hoc analysis of the accommodation/acclturation main effect indicated that the high accommodation/assimilation and nonaccommodation/separation participants rated Luisa's communication and linguistic behaviors as the most intentional, $F(1, 445) = 1.73$, $p = .19$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$; followed by their counterparts in the accommodation/integration condition, $F(1, 443) = 28.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$; with the nonaccommodation/marginalization

participants rating the target's behaviors to be the least intentional, $F(1, 447) = 11.77, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .03$ (see Table 4).

Inferred cognitive motive. Post hoc analysis of the accommodation/acculturation main effect indicated that the high accommodation/assimilation and accommodation/integration participants rated Luisa's communication and linguistic behaviors to be the most highly motivated by cognitive concerns, $F(1, 450) = 3.66, p = .06, \eta_p^2 = .01$; followed by their counterparts in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, $F(1, 446) = 256.22, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .37$. The nonaccommodation/separation participants rated the target's behaviors as the least motivated by cognitive concerns, but not significantly differently from those in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, $F(1, 443) = .002, p = .97, \eta_p^2 = .00$ (see Table 4).

Inferred affective motive. Post hoc analysis of the accommodation/acculturation main effect indicated that the high accommodation/assimilation participants rated Luisa's communication and linguistic behaviors to be the most highly motivated by affective concerns, followed by their counterparts in the accommodation/integration condition, $F(1, 448) = 11.99, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .03$, then by participants in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition, $F(1, 445) = 230.65, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .34$. There was no significant difference in participants' affective motives ratings between the nonaccommodation/marginalization and nonaccommodation/separation conditions, $F(1, 443) = 7.19, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .02$ (see Table 4).

Overall valence. Post hoc analysis of the accommodation/acculturation main effect indicated that the accommodation/integration participants rated Luisa's communication and linguistic behaviors as the most positive, followed by their counterparts in the high accommodation/assimilation condition, $F(1, 450) = 16.26, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$, then by participants in the nonaccommodation/separation condition, $F(1, 447) = 81.78, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .34$.

.15, with participants' in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition rating the target's behaviors as the most negative, $F(1, 445) = 13.83, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .02$ (see Table 4).

Given that the participants in the high accommodation/assimilation condition reported the most positive inferred motive (indicated by their intentionality, inferred cognitive and affective motive, and overall valence scores), H2_a was supported.

Judgments of the target speaker. In order to test H1_b, H2_b, and H3_b, a second MANCOVA was conducted with perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety toward the speaker as the dependent variables. Controlling for the effects of the covariates, results of the MANCOVA indicated that there was a significant overall effect of accommodation/acculturation strategy on participant perceptions of Luisa's inferred motive, Wilk's $\lambda = .65, F(9, 2078.56) = 44.62, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$. However, the main effect of the social attribution condition, Wilk's $\lambda = 1.00, F(6, 1708) = .68, p = .67, \eta_p^2 = .00$, and the interaction effect of social attribution by accommodation/ acculturation strategy, Wilk's $\lambda = .98, F(18, 2415.96) = 1.225, p = .23, \eta_p^2 = .01$, were nonsignificant. Thus, H1_b and H3_b were not supported.

For the significant accommodation/acculturation strategy effect, tests of between-subjects effects indicated that the accommodation/acculturation strategies had a significant main effect on the target speaker's perceived accommodation, $F(3, 856) = 132.09, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .32$; social attraction toward the target speaker, $F(3, 856) = 116.79, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .29$; and intergroup communication anxiety toward the target speaker, $F(3, 856) = 74.12, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .01$.

Three post hoc ANCOVAs (controlling for the same covariates) were conducted to explore the differences in the variables measuring participants' judgments of the target across the accommodation/acculturation conditions. For all pairwise comparisons, Bonferroni adjustments were made to alphas to control for Type I error (Green & Salkind, 2011).

Perceived accommodation. Post hoc analysis of the accommodation/acculturation main effect indicated that the accommodation/integration rated Luisa's communication and linguistic behaviors to be the most accommodative, followed by their counterparts in the high accommodation/assimilation condition, $F(1, 451) = 9.01, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Participants in the nonaccommodation/separation condition rated the target as third most accommodative overall, $F(1, 445) = 85.73, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .16$; with participants in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition perceiving the target to be the least accommodative, $F(1, 443) = 31.56, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .07$.

Social attraction. Post hoc analysis of the accommodation/acculturation main effect indicated that the accommodation/integration and high accommodation/assimilation participants rated the target as the most socially attractive, $F(1, 451) = 9.01, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .02$; followed by their counterparts in the nonaccommodation/separation condition, $F(1, 438) = 103.49, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .19$; with participants in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition perceiving the target to be the least socially attractive, $F(1, 437) = 11.82, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .03$.

Intergroup communication anxiety toward the target. Post hoc analysis of the accommodation/acculturation main effect indicated that the nonaccommodation/marginalization participants reported the highest intergroup communication anxiety about potentially interacting with the target, followed by their counterparts in the nonaccommodation/separation condition, $F(1, 431) = 24.07, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .05$; and the accommodation/integration condition, $F(1, 436) = 62.11, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$. Participants in the high accommodation/assimilation condition reported the least anxiety but were not significantly different from those in the accommodation/integration condition, $F(1, 441) = .19, p = .66, \eta_p^2 = .00$.

Given that the participants in the high accommodation/assimilation and the accommodation/integration conditions reported the most positive judgments of the speaker (indicated by their perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety scores), H2_b was supported.

Potential contact with the target speaker. In order to test H1_c, H2_c, and H3_c, a third MANCOVA was conducted with willingness to communicate with the speaker and willingness to accommodate to the speaker as the dependent variables. Controlling for the effects of the covariates, results of the MANCOVA indicated that there was a significant overall effect of accommodation/acculturation strategy on participants' willingness to interact with and accommodate to the target speaker, Wilk's $\lambda = .86$, $F(6, 1750) = 22.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. However, the main effect of the social attribution condition, Wilk's $\lambda = 1.00$, $F(4, 1750) = .30$, $p = .88$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, and the interaction effect of social attribution by accommodation/ acculturation strategy, Wilk's $\lambda = .98$, $F(12, 1750.00) = 1.27$, $p = .23$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, were nonsignificant. Thus, H1_c and H3_c were not supported.

For the significant accommodation/acculturation strategy effect, tests of between-subjects effects indicated that the accommodation/acculturation strategies had a significant main effect on the participants' willingness to communicate with the target speaker, $F(3, 876) = 33.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$, and willingness to accommodate to the target speaker, $F(3, 876) = 7.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$.

Two post hoc ANCOVAs (controlling for the same covariates) were conducted to explore the differences in the variables measuring participants' willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target across the accommodation/acculturation conditions. For all pairwise

comparisons, Bonferroni adjustments were made to alphas to control for Type I error (Green & Salkind, 2011).

Willingness to communicate. Post hoc analysis of the accommodation/acculturation main effect indicated that the high accommodation/assimilation and accommodation/integration participants reported the highest willingness to communicate with the target, $F(1, 447) = .003$, $p = .96$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$; followed by the nonaccommodation/separation and nonaccommodation/marginalization participants, $F(1, 442) = .12$, $p = .73$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$.

Willingness to accommodate. Post hoc analysis of the accommodation/acculturation main effect indicated that participants in the high accommodation/assimilation, accommodation/integration, $F(1, 447) = .05$, $p = .83$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, and nonaccommodation/marginalization conditions, $F(1, 444) = .14$, $p = .71$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, reported the highest willingness to accommodate to the target, while those in the nonaccommodation/separation condition reported the least willingness to accommodate to the target, $F(1, 440) = 13.24$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

Given that the participants in the high/accommodation/assimilation and accommodation/integration conditions reported the highest willingness to engage the speaker (indicated by their willingness to communicate and accommodate scores), H2_c was supported.

Intergroup perceptions toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants. In order to test H1_d, H2_d, and H3_d, a fourth and final MANCOVA was conducted with affective attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants and intergroup communication anxiety toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants as the dependent variables. Controlling for the effects of the covariates, results of the MANCOVA indicated that there was a significant overall effect of accommodation/acculturation strategy on participants' affective attitudes and intergroup communication anxiety toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, Wilk's $\lambda = .98$, $F(6, 1706.00) = 3.00$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

However, the main effect of the social attribution condition, Wilk's $\lambda = 1.00$, $F(4, 1706.00) = .71$, $p = .58$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, and the interaction effect of social attribution by accommodation/acculturation strategy, Wilk's $\lambda = .99$, $F(12, 1706.00) = 1.10$, $p = .35$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, were nonsignificant. Thus, H1_d and H3_d were not supported.

For the significant accommodation/acculturation strategy effect, tests of between-subjects effects indicated that the accommodation/acculturation strategies had a significant main effect on the participants' reported intergroup communication anxiety, $F(3, 854) = 3.78$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, but not on participants' affective attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, $F(3, 854) = 1.80$, $p = .15$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

Two post hoc ANCOVAs (controlling for the same covariates) were conducted to explore the differences in the variables measuring participants' intergroup perceptions toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants across the accommodation/acculturation conditions. For all pairwise comparisons, Bonferroni adjustments were made to alphas to control for Type I error (Green & Salkind, 2011). Post hoc analysis of the accommodation/acculturation main effect indicated no significant difference in participants' affective attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants or their reported intergroup communication anxiety toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants across the four conditions. Hence, H2_d was not supported.

Indirect Effects of Perceived Accommodation, Social Attraction, and Anxiety

Mediation analysis, used widely across social scientific disciplines (Hayes, 2018), investigates how the antecedent variable (X) exerts its effect on the outcome variable (Y) through an intervening variable (M) that either partly or fully explains the effect of X on Y . More recently, considerable research attention has been focused on conducting mediation analysis when X is neither continual nor dichotomous, but multicategorical (i.e., consisting of three or

more mutually exclusive categories) (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). Hypotheses 4, 5, and 6 predicted the indirect effects the experimental conditions on two outcome variables (i.e., willingness to communicate, willingness to accommodate) through three parallel mediators (i.e., social attraction, perceived accommodation, and intergroup communication anxiety toward the target). H4 and H5 were not tested since neither the social attribution main effect nor the social attribution by strategy interaction effect were significant. Analysis followed Hayes and Preacher's (2014) and Hayes' (2018) tutorials and Imamura and Zhang's (2014) procedures.

Willingness to communicate. Hypothesis 6 predicted the indirect effects of social attraction, perceived accommodation, and intergroup communication anxiety between accommodation/acculturation condition and participants' willingness to communicate with the target. The accommodation/acculturation conditions (i.e., the predictor variable) were dummy coded as either the reference group (i.e., 0) or as a comparison group (i.e., 1). For example, the first group was coded with high accommodation/assimilation as the reference group, 0, and the remaining three conditions (i.e., accommodation/integration, nonaccommodation/separation, and nonaccommodation/marginalization) were coded as comparison groups, 1. Thus, the initial dummy coded variable created three pairwise comparisons: high accommodation/assimilation-accommodation/integration; high accommodation/assimilation-nonaccommodation/separation; and high accommodation/assimilation-nonaccommodation/marginalization).

Next, a second group was coded in which the second experimental condition (i.e., accommodation/integration = 0) was designated as the reference group, while the remaining conditions (i.e., nonaccommodation/separation = 1; nonaccommodation/marginalization = 1; and high accommodation/assimilation = 1) were coded as comparison groups. This second round of coding allowed for two additional pairwise comparisons: accommodation/integration-

nonaccommodation/separation; accommodation/integration-nonaccommodation/marginalization.

For the final pairwise comparison, a third group was coded in which the third experimental condition (i.e., nonaccommodation/separation) was designated as the reference group, while the remaining conditions (i.e., nonaccommodation/marginalization = 1; high accommodation/assimilation = 1; and accommodation/integration = 1) were coded as comparison groups. This final coding allowed for the last pairwise comparison: nonaccommodation/separation-nonaccommodation/marginalization.

The mediation effects predicted by H6 were tested using Model 4 (with 5,000 bootstrap samples) of Hayes' (2018) PROCESS macro for SPSS (version 3.0). Willingness to communicate was entered as the dependent variable, while perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety were entered as the parallel mediator variables. The respective dummy coded variable for the targeted comparison (e.g., high accommodation/assimilation as the reference group) was entered as the independent variable, while the two remaining dummy coded variables within the dummy coding set (e.g., accommodation/integration as the reference group; nonaccommodation/separation as the reference group) were entered as covariates along with participants' age, sex, race, education, attitudes toward immigration acculturation. The same procedures with different pairwise comparisons were repeated until all comparisons, a total of six, were completed.

Controlling for the effects of the covariates, results indicate that the model significantly predicted participants' willingness to communicate with the target, $R^2 = .59$, $F(13, 855) = 96.08$, $p < .001$. Results further indicated that across the accommodation/acculturation conditions, social attraction ($\beta = .61$, $t = 13.31$, $p < .001$), perceived accommodation ($b = -.20$, $t = -4.83$, $p < .001$),

and intergroup communication anxiety toward the target ($b = -.43, t = -9.33, p < .001$) significantly predicted willingness to communicate with the target. In addition, attitudes toward immigration acculturation was also a significant predictor of willingness to communicate, ($b = .11, t = 4.40, p < .001$).

The indirect effects of the accommodation/acculturation strategy conditions on participants' willingness to communicate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety were tested for each pairwise comparison by examining the bootstrap results. Statistical decisions regarding the presence of the mediating effect were made based on whether the bias-corrected and accelerated 95% confidence intervals contain zero (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Specifically, mediation effects are observed when the 95% confidence interval does not contain zero (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The effect of each pairwise comparison on participants' willingness to communicate is detailed below. Overall, results indicate the partial support for H6.

High accommodation/assimilation-accommodation/integration. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to communicate through perceived accommodation and social attraction, but not through intergroup communication anxiety. Contrary to what H6_a predicted, participants perceived the accommodative/integrated target to be significantly more accommodative than the highly accommodative/assimilated target, which was positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the accommodative/integrated target (see Table 6). Further, contrary to what H6_a predicted, participants reported higher social attraction to the accommodative/integrated target compared to the highly accommodative/assimilated target, which was positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the

accommodative/integrated target (see Table 7). Comparatively, and also contrary to H6_b there was no difference between the participants' anxiety toward the accommodative and integrated target and the highly accommodative and assimilated target, and thus no indirect effect on participant's willingness to communicate with the target (see Table 8).

High accommodation/assimilation-nonaccommodation/separation. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to communicate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. Supporting H6_a, participants perceived the highly accommodative/assimilated target to be more accommodative than the nonaccommodative/separated target, which was positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the highly accommodative/assimilated target (see Table 6). Further supporting H6_a, participants reported higher social attraction to the highly accommodative/assimilated target compared to the nonaccommodative/separated target, which was also positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the highly accommodative/assimilated target (see Table 7). Lastly, supporting H6_b, participants reported more anxiety toward the nonaccommodative/separated target compared to the highly accommodative/assimilated target, which was negatively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the nonaccommodative/separated target (see Table 8).

High accommodation/assimilation-nonaccommodation/marginalization. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to communicate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. Supporting H6_a, participants perceived the highly accommodative/assimilated target to be more accommodative than the nonaccommodative/marginalized target,

which was positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the highly accommodative/assimilated target (see Table 6). Further supporting H6_a, participants reported higher social attraction to the highly accommodative/assimilated target compared to the nonaccommodative/marginalized target, which was also positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the highly accommodative/assimilated target (see Table 7). Lastly, in support of H6_b, participants reported more anxiety toward the nonaccommodative/marginalized target compared to the highly accommodative/assimilated target, which negatively predicted participants' willingness to communicate with the nonaccommodative/marginalized target (see Table 8).

Accommodation/integration-nonaccommodation/separation. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to communicate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. Supporting H6_c, participants perceived the nonaccommodative/separated target to be less accommodative than the accommodative/integrated target, which was positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the accommodative/integrated target (see Table 6). Further supporting H6_c, participants reported higher social attraction to the accommodative/integrated target compared to the nonaccommodative/separated target, which was also positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the accommodative/integrated target (see Table 7). Lastly, in support of H6_d, participants reported more anxiety toward the nonaccommodative/separated target compared to the accommodative/integrated target, which was negatively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the nonaccommodative/separated target (see Table 8).

Accommodation/integration-nonaccommodation/marginalization. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to communicate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. Supporting H6_c, participants perceived the nonaccommodative/marginalized target to be less accommodative than the accommodative/integrated target, which was positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the accommodative/integrated target (see Table 6). Also supporting H6_c, participants reported higher social attraction to the accommodative/integrated target compared to the nonaccommodative/marginalized target, which was positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the accommodative/integrated target (see Table 7). Finally, in support of H6_d, participants reported more anxiety toward the nonaccommodative/marginalized target compared to the accommodative/integrated target, which was negatively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the nonaccommodative/marginalized target (see Table 8).

Nonaccommodation/separation-nonaccommodation/marginalization. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to communicate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. Supporting H6_e, participants perceived the nonaccommodative/separated target to be more accommodative than the nonaccommodative/marginalized target, which was positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the nonaccommodative/separated target (see Table 6). Separately, also supporting H6_e, participants reported higher social attraction to the nonaccommodative/separated target compared to the nonaccommodative/marginalized target, which was also positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the nonaccommodative/separated target (see Table 7). Lastly,

supporting H6_f, participants reported more anxiety toward the nonaccommodative/marginalized target compared to the nonaccommodative/separated target, which was negatively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with the nonaccommodative/marginalized target (see Table 8).

In summary, perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety toward the target were found to be significant mediators between the accommodation/acculturation conditions and participants' willingness to communicate with the target. Only in the pairwise comparison between the accommodation/ integration and high accommodation/ assimilation conditions was one of the indirect effects nonsignificant. In this comparison, participants intergroup communication anxiety scores did not differ significantly, and thus the indirect effect on participants' willingness to communicate was also nonsignificant.

Table 6

Indirect Effects on Willingness to Communicate through Perceived Accommodation (M_I)

Comparison	X to M_I		Relative Indirect Effect through M_I			
	Coefficient	SE	Effect	SE	z	p
1. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Accommodation/Integration	.26* _(95% CI = .04; .47)	.11	-.05* _(95% CI = -.10; -.01)	.02	-2.18	< .05
2. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Separation	-1.02*** _(95% CI = -1.24; -.81)	.11	.20*** _(95% CI = .10; .31)	.05	3.69	< .001
3. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-1.64*** _(95% CI = -1.86; -1.43)	.11	.32*** _(95% CI = .16; .49)	.08	3.88	< .001
4. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Separation	-1.28*** _(95% CI = -1.49; -1.06)	.11	.25*** _(95% CI = .13; .38)	.07	3.87	< .001
5. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-1.90*** _(95% CI = -2.11; -1.69)	.11	.37*** _(95% CI = .19; .56)	.09	4.00	< .001
6. Nonaccommodation/Separation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-.62*** _(95% CI = -.84; -.40)	.11	.12** _(95% CI = .05; .20)	.04	3.16	< .01

Note. Overall model: $R^2 = .59$, $F(13, 855) = 96.08$, $p < .001$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; The first condition in each comparison was coded as 0 (i.e., the reference group).

1. Relative total effect = .02_(95% CI = -.26; .23), $SE = .12$, $p = .90$; Relative direct effect = -.12_(95% CI = -.29; .05), $SE = .09$, $p = .17$
2. Relative total effect = -.88_(95% CI = -1.13; -.63), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = -.05_(95% CI = -.24; .13), $SE = .09$, $p = .56$
3. Relative total effect = -.87_(95% CI = -1.11; -.62), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .28_(95% CI = .09; .47), $SE = .10$, $p < .01$
4. Relative total effect = -.86_(95% CI = -1.11; -.62), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .07_(95% CI = -.12; .25), $SE = .10$, $p = .49$
5. Relative total effect = -.85_(95% CI = -1.10; -.61), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .40_(95% CI = .20; .60), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$
6. Relative total effect = .01_(95% CI = -.23; .26), $SE = .13$, $p = .91$; Relative direct effect = .33_(95% CI = .16; .51), $SE = .09$, $p < .001$

Table 7

Indirect Effects on Willingness to Communicate through Social Attraction (M_2)

Comparison	X to M_2		Relative Indirect Effect through M_2			
	Coefficient	SE	Effect	SE	z	p
1. High Accommodation/Assimilation - Accommodation/Integration	.23* _(95% CI = .01; .46)	.11	.14* _(95% CI = .02; .27)	.06	2.21	< .05
2. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Separation	-1.19*** _(95% CI = -1.41; -.96)	.12	-.72*** _(95% CI = -.94; -.52)	.10	-6.91	< .001
3. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-1.59*** _(95% CI = -1.81; -1.36)	.12	-.97*** _(95% CI = -1.22; -.74)	.12	-7.96	< .001
4. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Separation	-1.42*** _(95% CI = -1.65; -1.20)	.12	-.87*** _(95% CI = -1.09; -.66)	.11	-8.04	< .001
5. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-1.82*** _(95% CI = -2.05; -1.60)	.12	-1.11*** _(95% CI = -1.36; -.87)	.13	-8.85	< .001
6. Nonaccommodation/Separation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-.40** _(95% CI = -.63; -.17)	.12	-.24** _(95% CI = -.41; -.09)	.08	-2.96	< .01

Note. Overall model: $R^2 = .59$, $F(13, 855) = 96.08$, $p < .001$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; The first condition in each comparison was coded as 0 (i.e., the reference group).

1. Relative total effect = .02_(95% CI = -.26; .23), $SE = .12$, $p = .90$; Relative direct effect = -.12_(95% CI = -.29; .05), $SE = .09$, $p = .17$
2. Relative total effect = -.88_(95% CI = -1.13; -.63), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = -.05_(95% CI = -.24; .13), $SE = .09$, $p = .56$
3. Relative total effect = -.87_(95% CI = -1.11; -.62), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .28_(95% CI = .09; .47), $SE = .10$, $p < .01$
4. Relative total effect = -.86_(95% CI = -1.11; -.62), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .07_(95% CI = -.12; .25), $SE = .10$, $p = .49$
5. Relative total effect = -.85_(95% CI = -1.10; -.61), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .40_(95% CI = .20; .60), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$
6. Relative total effect = .01_(95% CI = -.23; .26), $SE = .13$, $p = .91$; Relative direct effect = .33_(95% CI = .16; .51), $SE = .09$, $p < .001$

Table 8

Indirect Effects on Willingness to Communicate through Intergroup Communication Anxiety toward Target (M_3)

Comparison	X to M_3		Relative Indirect Effect through M_3			
	Coefficient	SE	Effect	SE	z	p
1. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Accommodation/Integration	-.03 _(95% CI = -.22; .16)	.10	.01 _(95% CI = -.06; .10)	.04	.33	.37
2. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Separation	.70*** _(95% CI = .52; .89)	.10	-.30*** _(95% CI = -.43; -.19)	.06	-5.08	< .001
3. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	1.17*** _(95% CI = .98; 1.36)	.10	-.50*** _(95% CI = -.66; -.36)	.08	-6.49	< .001
4. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Separation	.74*** _(95% CI = .55; .92)	.10	-.32*** _(95% CI = -.44; -.21)	.06	-5.28	< .001
5. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	1.20*** _(95% CI = 1.01; 1.39)	.10	-.52*** _(95% CI = -.67; -.37)	.08	-6.67	< .001
6. Nonaccommodation/Separation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	.46*** _(95% CI = .27; .65)	.10	-.20*** _(95% CI = -.30; -.11)	.05	-4.18	< .001

Note. Overall model: $R^2 = .59$, $F(13, 855) = 96.08$, $p < .001$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; The first condition in each comparison was coded as 0 (i.e., the reference group).

1. Relative total effect = .02_(95% CI = -.26; .23), $SE = .12$, $p = .90$; Relative direct effect = -.12_(95% CI = -.29; .05), $SE = .09$, $p = .17$
2. Relative total effect = -.88_(95% CI = -1.13; -.63), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = -.05_(95% CI = -.24; .13), $SE = .09$, $p = .56$
3. Relative total effect = -.87_(95% CI = -1.11; -.62), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .28_(95% CI = .09; .47), $SE = .10$, $p < .01$
4. Relative total effect = -.86_(95% CI = -1.11; -.62), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .07_(95% CI = -.12; .25), $SE = .10$, $p = .49$
5. Relative total effect = -.85_(95% CI = -1.10; -.61), $SE = .13$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .40_(95% CI = .20; .60), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$
6. Relative total effect = .01_(95% CI = -.23; .26), $SE = .13$, $p = .91$; Relative direct effect = .33_(95% CI = .16; .51), $SE = .09$, $p < .00$

Willingness to accommodate. Hypothesis 6 also predicted the indirect effects of social attraction, perceived accommodation, and intergroup communication anxiety between accommodation/acculturation condition and participants' willingness to accommodate to the target. The indirect effects on willingness to accommodate were tested with a separate analysis using Model 4 (with 5,000 bootstrap samples) of Hayes' (2018) PROCESS macro for SPSS (version 3.0). Willingness to accommodate was entered as the dependent variable, while perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety were entered as the parallel mediator variables. The respective dummy coded variable for the targeted comparison (e.g., accommodation/ integration as the reference group) was entered as the independent variable, while the two remaining dummy coded variables within the dummy coding set (e.g., high accommodation/ assimilation as the reference group; nonaccommodation/ separation as the reference group) were entered as covariates along with participants' age, sex, race, education, attitudes toward immigration acculturation. The same procedures with different pairwise comparisons were repeated until all comparisons, a total of six, were completed.

Controlling for the effects of the covariates, results indicate that the model significantly predicted participants' willingness to accommodate to the target, $R^2 = .33$, $F(13, 849) = 32.35$, $p < .001$. Results further indicated that across the accommodation/acculturation conditions, perceived accommodation ($\beta = -.15$, $SE = .04$, $t = -3.93$, $p < .001$), social attraction ($b = .36$, $SE = .04$, $t = 8.14$, $p < .001$), and intergroup communication anxiety toward the target ($b = -.21$, $SE = .04$, $t = -4.85$, $p < .001$) significantly predicted willingness to accommodate to the target. In addition, attitudes toward immigration acculturation was also a significant predictor of willingness to accommodate, ($b = .14$, $SE = .03$, $t = 5.66$, $p < .001$).

Indirect effects of the accommodation/acculturation strategy conditions on willingness to accommodate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety were tested for each pairwise comparison by examining the bootstrap results. Statistical decisions regarding the presence of the indirect effect were made based on whether the bias-corrected and accelerated 95% confidence intervals contain zero (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Specifically, mediation effects are observed when the 95% confidence interval does not contain zero (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The effect of each pairwise comparison on participants' willingness to accommodate is detailed below. Overall, results echo the partial support for H6 as was found when testing the indirect effect on willingness to communicate.

High accommodation/assimilation-accommodation/integration. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to accommodate through perceived accommodation and social attraction, but not through intergroup communication anxiety toward the target. Contrary to what H6_a predicted, participants perceived the highly accommodative/assimilated target to be less accommodative than the accommodative/integrated target, which consequently was positively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the accommodative/integrated target (see Table 9). Also contrary to H6_a, participants reported higher social attraction to the accommodative/integrated target compared to the highly accommodative/assimilated target, which was also positively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the accommodative/integrated target (see Table 10). Comparatively, and contrary to H6_b, there was no difference between the participants' anxiety toward the accommodative and integrated target and the highly accommodative and assimilated target, and thus no mediating effect on participant's willingness to accommodate to the target (see Table 11).

High accommodation/assimilation-nonaccommodation/separation. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to accommodate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. Supporting H6_a, Participants perceived the highly accommodative/assimilated target to be more accommodative than the nonaccommodative/separated target, which was positively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the highly accommodative/assimilated target (see Table 9). In further support of H6_a, participants reported higher social attraction to the highly accommodative/assimilated target compared to the nonaccommodative/separated target, which was also positively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the highly accommodative/assimilated target (see Table 10). Lastly, supporting H6_b, participants reported more anxiety toward the nonaccommodative/separated target compared to the highly accommodative/assimilated target, which in turn was negatively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the nonaccommodative/separated target (see Table 11).

High accommodation/assimilation-nonaccommodation/marginalization. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to accommodate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. Supporting H6_a, participants perceived the highly accommodative/assimilated target to be more accommodative than the nonaccommodative/marginalized target, which consequently was positively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the highly accommodative/assimilated target (see Table 9). Separately, also in support of H6_a, participants reported higher social attraction to the highly accommodative/assimilated target compared to the nonaccommodative/marginalized target, which was also positively associated

with participants' willingness to accommodate to the highly accommodative/assimilated target (see Table 10). Lastly, supporting H6_b, participants reported more anxiety toward the nonaccommodative/ marginalized target compared to the highly accommodative/assimilated target, which was negatively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the nonaccommodative/marginalized target (see Table 11).

Accommodation/integration-nonaccommodation/separation. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to accommodate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. Supporting H6_c, participants perceived the nonaccommodative/separated target to be less accommodative than the accommodative/integrated target, which was positively associated with the participants' willingness to accommodate to the accommodative/integrated target (see Table 9). Also, supporting H6_c, participants reported higher social attraction to the accommodative/integrated target compared to the nonaccommodative/separated target, which was positively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the accommodative/integrated target (see Table 10). Lastly, in support of H6_d, participants reported more anxiety toward the nonaccommodative/separated target compared to the accommodative/integrated target, which was negatively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the nonaccommodative/separated target (see Table 11).

Accommodation/integration-nonaccommodation/marginalization. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to accommodate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. In support of H6_c, participants perceived the nonaccommodative/marginalized target to be less accommodative than the accommodative/integrated target, which

was positively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the accommodative/integrated target (see Table 9). Also, in support of H6_c, participants reported higher social attraction to the accommodative/integrated target compared to the nonaccommodative/marginalized target, which was also positively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the accommodative/integrated target (see Table 10). Lastly, supporting H6_d, participants reported more anxiety toward the nonaccommodative/marginalized target compared to the accommodative/integrated target, which was negatively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the nonaccommodative/marginalized target (see Table 11).

Nonaccommodation/separation-nonaccommodation/marginalization. Bootstrap analysis (with 5,000 iterations) revealed significant indirect effects of the conditions on willingness to accommodate through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. Supporting H6_e, participants perceived the nonaccommodative/separated target to be more accommodative than the nonaccommodative/marginalized target, which was positively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the nonaccommodative/separated target (see Table 9). Separately, and also supporting H6_e, participants reported higher social attraction to the nonaccommodative/separated target compared to the nonaccommodative/marginalized target, which was also positively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the nonaccommodative/separated target (see Table 10). Lastly, supporting H6_f, participants reported more anxiety toward the nonaccommodative/marginalized target compared to the nonaccommodative/separated target, which was negatively associated with participants' willingness to accommodate to the nonaccommodative/marginalized target (see Table 11).

To conclude, perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety toward the target were found to be significant mediators between the accommodation/acculturation conditions and participants' willingness to accommodate to the target.

Only in the pairwise comparison between the accommodation/ integration and high accommodation/assimilation conditions was one of the indirect effects nonsignificant. In this comparison, participants' intergroup communication anxiety did not differ significantly, and thus the indirect effect of the conditions on participants' willingness to accommodate was also nonsignificant.

Table 9

Indirect Effects on Willingness to Accommodate through Perceived Accommodation (M_I)

Comparison	X to M_I		Relative Indirect Effect through M_I			
	Coefficient	SE	Effect	SE	z	p
1. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Accommodation/Integration	.27* _(95% CI = .06; .49)	.11	-.04* _(95% CI = -.08; -.01)	.02	-2.17	< .05
2. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Separation	-1.02*** _(95% CI = -1.24; -.81)	.11	.16** _(95% CI = .07; .25)	.05	3.32	< .01
3. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-1.63*** _(95% CI = -1.85; -1.42)	.11	.25*** _(95% CI = .11; .39)	.07	3.49	< .001
4. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Separation	-1.30*** _(95% CI = -1.51; -1.08)	.11	.20** _(95% CI = .09; .32)	.06	3.38	< .01
5. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-1.91*** _(95% CI = -2.12; -1.69)	.11	.29*** _(95% CI = .13; .46)	.08	3.51	< .001
6. Nonaccommodation/Separation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-.61*** _(95% CI = -.83; -.39)	.11	.09** _(95% CI = .04; .16)	.03	2.93	< .01

Note. Overall model: $R^2 = .59$, $F(13, 855) = 96.08$, $p < .001$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; The first condition in each comparison was coded as 0 (i.e., the reference group).

1. Relative total effect = .01_(95% CI = -.17; .20), $SE = .10$, $p = .89$; Relative direct effect = -.05_(95% CI = -.21; .12), $SE = .08$, $p = .58$
2. Relative total effect = -.36_(95% CI = -.55; -.17), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .05_(95% CI = -.12; .23), $SE = .09$, $p = .55$
3. Relative total effect = .00_(95% CI = -.19; .19), $SE = .10$, $p = .97$; Relative direct effect = .56_(95% CI = .37; .75), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$
4. Relative total effect = -.38_(95% CI = -.56; -.19), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .10_(95% CI = -.08; .28), $SE = .09$, $p = .28$
5. Relative total effect = -.02_(95% CI = -.21; .17), $SE = .10$, $p = .86$; Relative direct effect = .61_(95% CI = .41; .80), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$
6. Relative total effect = .36_(95% CI = .17; .55), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .50_(95% CI = .33; .68), $SE = .09$, $p < .001$

Table 10

Indirect Effects on Willingness to Accommodate through Social Attraction (M_2)

Comparison	X to M_2		Relative Indirect Effect through M_2			
	Coefficient	SE	Effect	SE	z	p
1. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Accommodation/Integration	.25* _(95% CI = .03; .48)	.11	.09* _(95% CI = .02; .17)	.04	2.38	< .05
2. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Separation	-1.18*** _(95% CI = -1.41; -.96)	.12	-.42*** _(95% CI = -.58; -.28)	.08	-5.33	< .001
3. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-1.58*** _(95% CI = -1.81; -1.35)	.12	-.57*** _(95% CI = -.76; -.39)	.09	-5.98	< .001
4. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Separation	-1.44*** _(95% CI = -1.66; -1.21)	.12	-.52*** _(95% CI = -.70; -.35)	.09	-5.75	< .001
5. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-1.83*** _(95% CI = -2.06; -1.61)	.12	-.66*** _(95% CI = -.88; -.46)	.10	-6.27	< .001
6. Nonaccommodation/Separation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	-.40** _(95% CI = -.63; -.17)	.12	-.14** _(95% CI = -.24; -.05)	.05	-2.87	< .01

Note. Overall model: $R^2 = .59$, $F(13, 855) = 96.08$, $p < .001$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; The first condition in each comparison was coded as 0 (i.e., the reference group).

1. Relative total effect = .01_(95% CI = -.17; .20), $SE = .10$, $p = .89$; Relative direct effect = -.05_(95% CI = -.21; .12), $SE = .08$, $p = .58$
2. Relative total effect = -.36_(95% CI = -.55; -.17), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .05_(95% CI = -.12; .23), $SE = .09$, $p = .55$
3. Relative total effect = .00_(95% CI = -.19; .19), $SE = .10$, $p = .97$; Relative direct effect = .56_(95% CI = .37; .75), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$
4. Relative total effect = -.38_(95% CI = -.56; -.19), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .10_(95% CI = -.08; .28), $SE = .09$, $p = .28$
5. Relative total effect = -.02_(95% CI = -.21; .17), $SE = .10$, $p = .86$; Relative direct effect = .61_(95% CI = .41; .80), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$
6. Relative total effect = .36_(95% CI = .17; .55), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .50_(95% CI = .33; .68), $SE = .09$, $p < .001$

Table 11

Indirect Effects on Willingness to Accommodate through Intergroup Communication Anxiety toward Target (M_3)

Comparison	X to M_3		Relative Indirect Effect through M_3			
	Coefficient	SE	Effect	SE	z	p
1. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Accommodation/Integration	-.05 _(95% CI = -.24; .14)	.10	.01 _(95% CI = -.03; .05)	.02	.54	.29
2. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Separation	.70*** _(95% CI = .51; .89)	.10	-.15*** _(95% CI = -.24; -.07)	.04	-3.64	< .001
3. High Accommodation/Assimilation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	1.15*** _(95% CI = .96; 1.34)	.10	-.25*** _(95% CI = -.37; -.13)	.06	-4.06	< .001
4. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Separation	.75*** _(95% CI = .56; .94)	.10	-.16*** _(95% CI = -.25; -.08)	.04	-3.68	< .001
5. Accommodation/Integration-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	1.20*** _(95% CI = 1.01; 1.39)	.10	-.26*** _(95% CI = -.38; -.14)	.06	-4.08	< .001
6. Nonaccommodation/Separation-Nonaccommodation/Marginalization	.45*** _(95% CI = .26; .64)	.10	-.10** _(95% CI = -.16; -.04)	.03	-3.17	< .01

Note. Overall model: $R^2 = .33$, $F(13, 849) = 32.35$, $p < .001$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; The first condition in each comparison was coded as 0 (i.e., the reference group).

1. Relative total effect = .01_(95% CI = -.17; .20), $SE = .10$, $p = .89$; Relative direct effect = -.05_(95% CI = -.21; .12), $SE = .08$, $p = .58$
2. Relative total effect = -.36_(95% CI = -.55; -.17), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .05_(95% CI = -.12; .23), $SE = .09$, $p = .55$
3. Relative total effect = .00_(95% CI = -.19; .19), $SE = .10$, $p = .97$; Relative direct effect = .56_(95% CI = .37; .75), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$
4. Relative total effect = -.38_(95% CI = -.56; -.19), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .10_(95% CI = -.08; .28), $SE = .09$, $p = .28$
5. Relative total effect = -.02_(95% CI = -.21; .17), $SE = .10$, $p = .86$; Relative direct effect = .61_(95% CI = .41; .80), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$
6. Relative total effect = .36_(95% CI = .17; .55), $SE = .10$, $p < .001$; Relative direct effect = .50_(95% CI = .33; .68), $SE = .09$, $p < .001$

Summary of Results

A series of statistical analyses were used to test the main, interaction, and indirect effects of social attributions (i.e., positive, negative, or control) about nonnative English speakers and their accents and a specific Hispanic/Latina immigrant target's cultural and language adaptation strategies (i.e., accommodation/integration; high accommodation/assimilation; nonaccommodation/separation; and nonaccommodation/ marginalization) on native-English-speaking U.S. American participants' a) inferences regarding the target's motives (i.e., intentionality, inferred cognitive and affective motive, and overall valence); b) judgments of the target (i.e., perceived accommodation, social attractiveness, and intergroup communication anxiety toward the target); c) willingness to engage in potential interactions with the target (i.e., willingness to communicate, willingness to accommodate); and d) intergroup perceptions (i.e., affective attitudes and intergroup communication anxiety) toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants in general.

H1 predicted the main effects of the social attribution conditions on participants' perceptions, while H3 predicted the social attribution by accommodation/acculturation strategy interaction effect. Results of a series of MANCOVAs indicated there was neither a significant main effect nor interaction effect on any of the outcome variables. Neither H1 nor H3 were supported. By extension, both H4 and H5, which predicted that perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety would mediate the effect of the social attribution condition on participants' willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target, were presumed to be nonsignificant and thus not tested.

H2 predicted the main effects of the accommodation/acculturation strategies on participant perceptions of both the target speaker and the outgroup she represents, specifically

that participants in the high accommodation/assimilation condition would report the most positive and favorable perceptions of the target and her group. MANCOVA and post hoc univariate analyses indicated mixed support for H2. First, in overall support of H2_a, participants perceived the highly accommodative target's behaviors to be the most intentional (although not significantly different from the nonaccommodation/separation condition); the most highly cognitively motivated (although not significantly different from the accommodation/integration condition); the most highly affectively motivated; but only the second most positively valenced (accommodation/integration was rated the most positive).

Second, participants perceived the highly accommodative/assimilated target's behaviors to be the most accommodative (although not significantly different from the accommodation/integration condition); the most socially attractive (still not significantly different from the accommodation/integration condition); and reported the lowest anxiety toward the highly accommodative target (again not significantly different from the accommodation/integration condition). Hence, H2_b was supported.

Third, participants in the high accommodation/assimilation and accommodation/integration conditions reported equally high willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target. The willingness to communicate and accommodate scores for these two conditions were significantly higher than scores reported by participants in the nonaccommodation/separation and nonaccommodation/marginalization conditions. Hence, H2_c was supported.

Finally, post hoc analysis did not reveal significant differences between any of the four accommodation/acculturation conditions on participants' affective attitudes or intergroup communication anxiety toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants in general. Thus, H2_d was not supported.

Lastly, H6 predicted that the effect of accommodation/acculturation condition on participants' willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target would be mediated by perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. Results revealed mixed support for H6. Contrary to H6_a, participants perceived the accommodative and integrated target to be more accommodative and more socially attractive than the high accommodative and assimilated target, which was positively associated with participants increased willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the accommodative and integrated target. Further, and contrary to H6_b, there was no significant difference between participants' reported anxiety toward the highly accommodative/assimilated target and the accommodative/integrated target, and thus no indirect effects on willingness to communicate or accommodate.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

“For one linguistic system to attain dominance...other coexistent and competing linguistic systems must be devalued and subordinated.”

-- Glenn Martínez, *Language Wars on the Texas Frontier*

Language varieties carry with them ethnolinguistic vitality, status, and social attributions, and in the context of the United States, the English language and Standard American English (SAE) accent occupy the dominant position against which all other varieties are compared. Guided by communication accommodation theory and the acculturation framework, this experimental study sought to investigate native English-speaking Americans’ attitudes toward both a specific nonnative English-speaking, Hispanic/Latina immigrant target and Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants as an ethnolinguistic social group. Specifically, the experimental design facilitated the examination of the dominant linguistic group’s connection between the English language and cultural identity, as well as their reactions to a specific linguistic outgroup member who in some cases converges to and in other cases diverges from the dominant linguistic variety. Broadly stated, the overarching goal of the study was to understand interpersonal- and group-level communication processes that may influence dominant, host community members’ psychological and communicative stance toward a relevant ethnolinguistic immigrant community.

This chapter begins by summarizing and explaining the major findings of the study. The chapter also details the study’s theoretical contributions to intergroup and intercultural research, as well as the practical implications of this research. To conclude, limitations of the current study and suggestions for future research are discussed.

Summary of Findings

The major findings of the study indicate three general patterns. First, the accommodation/acculturation strategy employed by the specific target significantly affected participants' inferences about the target's motives, their judgments of the target, their willingness to engage the target, and their intergroup perceptions of her ethnolinguistic group. In general, the more assimilative and accommodative the target's communicative and linguistic behaviors, the more positive the participants' stance toward the target. However, while the strategy employed by the target significantly predicted participants' perceptions of Hispanic/Latino immigrants as a group, there was no significant difference among the specific strategies.

Second, the accommodation/acculturation strategies had significant indirect effects on participant willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target through perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety as parallel mediators. Results indicated that the three explanatory variables partially mediated the effect of the accommodation/acculturation conditions on participants' willingness to communicate and willingness to accommodate. In general, the current study's indirect effect results reflect prior research related to social attraction and anxiety (Imamura & Zhang, 2011; Montgomery & Zhang, 2018). Specifically, in conditions where the target expressed willingness and capacity to adapt her communicative behaviors to meet the needs of native English speakers along with interest in interacting with native English speakers and participating in U.S. culture, participants expressed significantly more perceived accommodation from the target, more social attraction to the target, and less anxiety toward the target. As a result, perceived accommodation and social attraction were significant positive predictors of participants' willingness to both communicate

with and accommodate to the target, while anxiety was a negative predictor of these intended behavioral outcomes.

Third, contrary to predictions, social attribution conditions did not have any direct or indirect effects on participants' inferences or judgments of the target or her outgroup. In what follows, results are explored in more detail and a theoretical interpretation of these results is offered.

Direct and Indirect Effects of the Accommodation/Acculturation Strategies

As demonstrated by the acculturation and intergroup contact literature, positive contact with members of the dominant cultural and linguistic group is a significant predictor of immigrant's acculturative success and overall well-being (Zhang & Goodson, 2011), and an immigrant's acculturation strategy bears consequences on the dominant group's intergroup attitudes toward both the individual (Imamura & Zhang, 2014) and the dynamic between dominant and immigrant communities. However, research indicates a disparity in how immigrant group and dominant group members view acculturation strategies (van Oudenhoven et al., 2006), whereby the strategy that an immigrant attempts (e.g., integration) is understood differently (e.g., as separation) by dominant group members. Guided by acculturation and communication accommodation literature, the current study investigated the effects of a specific immigrant target's accommodation and acculturation strategy on dominant group members' (i.e., native-English-speaking Americans') perceptions of the target's specific behaviors, willingness to engage with the target, and attributions toward the general outgroup the target represents. The first and second patterns illuminated by the results indicate that the strategy employed by the target had significant direct and indirect influence on participants' perceptions and evaluations of both the target and her respective group.

Inferred Motive. Within communication accommodation theory, inferred motive refers to the goals and intentions we infer from a person's communication and language behaviors (Gasiorek & Giles, 2015). Four constructs measured the various dimensions of inferred motive in the current study: intentionality, inferred cognitive and affective motive, and overall valence. Comparing the four experimental conditions, participants in the high accommodation/assimilation and nonaccommodation/separation conditions rated the target's behaviors as the most intentional. More specifically, in these two conditions, participants perceived the target to be in control of her communication behaviors and language use, and that she was actively choosing to communicate in the manner she described. Participants in the accommodation/integration condition found the target to be the next most intentional, and participants in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition rated the target's behaviors as the least intentional. Reflecting the acculturation framework, the nonaccommodative and marginalized target described a high degree of acculturative stress and confusion, stating that she does not wield the English language effectively enough to be simultaneously mindful of her language use and communication behaviors. The target in this scenario gives an impression of confusion, apathy, and isolation. Overall, these results suggest that participants recognize the underlying effort that learning and speaking a new language and adapting to a new cultural environment entail. However, the results also imply that participants perceive the nonaccommodative and separated target to be actively working to avoid contact with the dominant cultural and linguistic group.

Inferred cognitive motive refers to behaviors that are motivated by a desire for successful and effective communication. One who is highly cognitively motivated aims for their communication to be easily understood and processed by the listener. Participants in the high accommodation/assimilation and accommodation/integration conditions found the target to be

the most highly cognitively motivated, followed by participants in the nonaccommodation/marginalization and nonaccommodation/separation conditions. In other words, participants found the highly accommodative and assimilated target highly motivated for their communication to be easily understood and processed by native English speakers. In both the highly accommodative/assimilation and accommodative/integration conditions, the target described a willingness to adapt her communication behaviors and language use to be more similar to those of native English speakers'. The target also mentions doing what she could to make sure her communication is clear when speaking English with native English speakers. Upon reading this information, the native-English-speaking participants concluded that the target wanted her interactions with native-English-speaking U.S. Americans to be efficient, intelligible, and coherent. Comparatively, the nonaccommodative/separation and nonaccommodation/marginalization strategies described by the respective target elicited more negative evaluations from participants, who upon reading that these targets were either not concerned (as in the separation condition) or unable to control (as in the marginalization condition) whether native-English-speakers could easily interpret their communication deduced that these targets were not motivated by such concerns.

Inferred affective motive refers to behaviors that are motivated by social distance and identity negotiations. One who is highly affectively motivated wants the listener to see them (the speaker) as likable and similar to them (the listener). Participants in the high accommodation/assimilation condition perceived the target to be the most highly affectively motivated, followed by the accommodation/integration condition, then the nonaccommodation/separation condition, with the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition reported to be the least affectively motivated. Here, participants who were exposed to the highly accommodative and assimilative

target read about an immigrant who wanted to do whatever she could to make her communication like that of native English speakers. In other words, the target was eager to upwardly converge to the more prestigious, idealized variety (i.e., SAE) and renounce her nonnative accent. Comparatively, participants who were exposed to the nonaccommodative and separated target read about an immigrant who was proud of her nonnative accent and rejected the burden of changing her speech to be more similar to or likable for native English speakers. In an accommodative sense, the separated target was maintaining her default language variety and was not interested in adapting her cultural values or behaviors to be more similar to the dominant group.

Lastly, the accommodation/integration condition elicited the highest overall valence of the target's inferred motive. This result is noteworthy because it further suggests the need for increased research regarding the effect of perceived intentionality and motive on how communication is evaluated. The four accommodation/acculturation strategies were manipulated on a continuum, where the separated and marginalized target was nonaccommodative, represented by the target's lack of interest or inability to adapt her behaviors to meet the needs of a native-English-speaking, U.S. American. Correspondingly, participants rated these targets to have negative intentions behind their lack of accommodation. These negative valence scores are echo the low affective and cognitive motive scores also elicited by these conditions. Altogether, these conditions left participants with the impression that the target did not care about or could do nothing to influence the listener's ability to comprehend or feel an affiliation with her.

Moving along the continuum, the integrated target was accommodative, characterized by her willingness and capacity to adapt her behaviors when the situation called for it. In particular, the accommodative/integrated target expressed a desire for her communication with native-

English-speaking, U.S. Americans to be efficient, pleasant, and satisfying for all parties, but also recognized and strove for a balance between adapting to U.S. communication norms and maintaining her cultural heritage. Correspondingly, participants rated this target as the most positively valenced, meaning they perceived the best overall intentions from this target's behaviors.

Lastly, the assimilated target was highly accommodative, embodied by her strong willingness, almost desperation, for her communication with native-English-speaking, U.S. Americans to be positive. This target was willing to do all she could to take on U.S. communication norms, even if it meant giving up her cultural heritage communication norms and her native language, as well as avoiding her ethnolinguistic ingroup. Correspondingly, participants' overall valence of these motives decreased significantly compared to the accommodative/integrated target. Together, these results suggest that participants were skeptical of the highly accommodative target's intentions, indicating there is a limit to which adjustments are seen as positive.

Processing fluency, or the ease or difficulty with which a person performs a cognitive task (Dragojevic & Giles, 2016) may provide an important explanation of participants' overall inferred motives of the target. Research on processing fluency (Dragojevic & Giles, 2016; Oppenheimer, 2006) asserts that a listener's experience of decoding and comprehending foreign-accented speech (i.e., speech that is phonologically shaped by a language different from the listener's native language) is partially explained by perceptions of the speaker's competence, goodwill, and communicative objectives. Research suggests that as speech becomes more difficult to process, as is potentially the case during interaction between native and nonnative English speakers, listeners tend to rationalize this difficulty through external forces, such as

attributions of the speaker. More specifically, as native English speakers become aware that they are processing foreign-accented speech, this processing is influenced by whether the speaker is deemed as (un)helpful, well- or ill-intentioned, or capable of controlling their communication in a way that facilitates understanding. Hence, processing fluency is potentially closely related to, and perhaps influenced by the motives inferred by the listener.

Considering intentionality, cognitive and affective motives, and overall valence together, participants inferred the most positive motive from the highly accommodative and assimilated target. The speaker who was the most concerned with her linguistic and communicative behaviors being as similar as possible to those of native English speakers garnered the most favorable evaluation from the native-English-speaking participant. These results echo Lippi-Green's (2012) assertion that native English speakers often do not take up the communicative burden during interactions with nonnative English speakers, instead assuming it is the nonnative English speaker's responsibility to make the native English speaker understand. The logical end of this communicative approach is that native English speakers would infer more positive overall motives from the target speaker who was doing the most to adapt her behaviors to be like those of a native English speakers' and be easily understood by native English speakers.

Judgments of the Speaker. Research indicates that an immigrant's acculturation behaviors influence the dominant group's judgments and evaluations of the individual. The current study explored three variables related to the participants' judgments of the target: perceived accommodation, social attraction, and intergroup communication anxiety. The current study revealed several important direct and indirect effects worthy of discussion.

Perceived accommodation. Communication accommodation theory distinguishes between a speaker's intentions and the listener's perceptions, acknowledging that our

interpretations of another's behaviors meaningfully influence our perceptions. Here, perceived accommodation refers to the participants' evaluations of the target's behaviors, specifically whether the target adequately, effectively, and satisfactorily adjusted her behaviors to meet the needs of native-English-speaking Americans. Participants in the high accommodation/assimilation and accommodation/integration conditions reported the highest perceived accommodation, meaning that both the highly accommodative and assimilated target and the accommodative and integrated target were positively evaluated. In these conditions, the target described her willingness to adapt her communication behaviors and her language use to be more similar to native-English-speaking Americans', or exactly like them, in the case of the highly accommodative/assimilated target.

Comparatively, the participants' in the nonaccommodation/separation condition perceived the target's accommodation to be moderate, or essentially neither positive nor negative. Here, the target describes herself as aware of her communication and linguistic deviations from U.S. American, SAE norms, but states that she does not attempt to adjust her communication to be more similar to this dominant variety. Consequently, participants perceived this stance to be ineffective, inadequate, and unnecessary. These results suggest that while participants were not encouraged by the target's adjustments, neither did they evaluate them as detrimental to a potential interaction. Lastly, the participants in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition perceived the target to be the least accommodative, rating her behaviors as even more ineffective, inadequate, and unnecessary than their counterparts in the nonaccommodation/separation condition. Here the perceived accommodation score begins to represent a potentially damaging perception, wherein participants view the target's behaviors as disruptive or erosive to a potential interaction.

Indirect effect of perceived accommodation on willingness to engage the target. The general pattern of these indirect effects results indicates that the conditions in which the target demonstrated willingness to adapt her behaviors, and skillfully adapted behaviors without going overboard, were perceived as the most accommodative. As an outcome, this increased perceived accommodation was a significant positive predictor of participants' willingness to communicate with and accommodate to this accommodative target. High willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the (highly) accommodative and assimilated or integrated target could be explained by reciprocity norms of communication in the U.S. CAT specifies symmetry and reciprocity as dimensions of accommodation (Dragojevic et al., 2016), and participants' willingness to adjust their own communication behaviors could be a signal that they recognize and appreciate the adaptations that the target is seemingly willing to make to her communication. Perhaps participants in these conditions are responding in kind to the communicative effort they perceive from the target.

Direct effects results indicated that participants were equally willing to communicate with and accommodate to both the assimilated and the integrated target. However, the indirect effect through perceived accommodation suggests that participants perceived the accommodative/integrated target's behaviors as more satisfying, appropriate, and effective than their counterparts in the highly accommodative/assimilated condition. Most importantly, these positive perceptions of the target's adaptive behaviors were then positively associated with participants' willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target.

The direct and indirect effects on willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target bear positive and hopeful implications for nonnative-English-speaking immigrants. These results suggest that ethnolinguistic minority immigrant groups do not have to give up their

native language or culture. Participants' behavioral intentions toward the highly accommodative/assimilated target and the accommodative/integrated target were basically the same, and both were significantly more positive compared to the nonaccommodative/separated and marginalized targets. These results suggest that regularly participating in the dominant culture and making some cultural adaptations, while also maintaining heritage cultural and linguistic behaviors, does lead to slightly more favorable intergroup outcomes. In other words, examination of the indirect effects further solidifies the value of an integration strategy over the other three possible acculturation strategies. As evidenced by the high accommodation/assimilation condition, participants perceived this target's behaviors to be less satisfying, appropriate, and effective than the accommodative/integrated target, and thus were indirectly significantly less willing to interact with the highly accommodative/assimilated target. These results suggest that the highly accommodative and assimilative individual was perhaps seen as disingenuous and/or overeager, thus reducing the likelihood that participants perceived this target's communication behaviors as appropriate, satisfying, or effective. By comparison, an accommodative and integrative approach entailing a more balanced combination of host and heritage cultural and linguistic behaviors was seen as more appropriate, satisfying, and effective, which resulted in more positive consequences for potential future interactions with native English speakers.

Social attraction. As defined by prior research, social attraction refers to perceptions of liking and fit within one's social circle, including perceptions of similarity and ease in socializing with a particular individual (Imamura & Zhang, 2014). The current study sought to understand how the varying accommodation/acculturation strategies employed by an immigrant target influenced participants' perceptions of the target's social attractiveness. Participants found the accommodative/integrated and highly accommodative/assimilated target to be the most

socially attractive, followed by the nonaccommodative/separated target, and finally the nonaccommodative/marginalized target. This pattern of results reflects prior research regarding social attraction. The target who demonstrated the most eagerness or interest in not only adapting her language and communication behaviors to be more like native-English-speaking Americans', but also more fully participating in U.S. culture writ large, elicited more social attraction from the participants. Participants likely predicted that these adaptations made by the target would make her more similar to others in their social circle and make interacting with her more enjoyable. This pattern of results also reflects the general body of research related to convergence, in that convergence, especially upward convergence toward a more prestigious or socially valued variety, typically leads to more favorable evaluations (Dragojevic et al., 2016). As the target was more willing to adapt her linguistic and cultural behaviors to be like those of the dominant group, the more that dominant group members demonstrated interest in interacting with and potentially becoming friends with the target.

Indirect effect of social attraction on willingness to engage the target. By extension, as perceptions of social attractiveness increased, so did participant's willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the speaker. Participants were more willing to communicate with the accommodative and integrated target as an outcome of their increased sense of liking and similarity with the target. Importantly, even though the direct effect of the high accommodation/assimilation and accommodation/integration conditions on perceptions of social attraction was not significantly different, when introduced as an intervening variable, participants reported more social attraction to the accommodative/integrated target as opposed to the highly accommodative/assimilated target, and by extension were more willing to communicate with and accommodate to the accommodative/integrated target. These results suggest that going past a

particular point and adjusting too much can have adverse effects on the dominant group's perceptions of the immigrant target.

The critical role of similarity could be explained by research on uncertainty in intercultural encounters. According to anxiety/uncertainty management theory (Gudykunst, 1993), uncertainty needs to be managed in order for interactions to be successful. Too much uncertainty leads to avoidance, as reflected in participants' low willingness to communicate with the nonaccommodative, separated or marginalized target. In these scenarios, the target's behaviors were difficult to predict or explain, leaving the participant feeling uncertain about how a potential interaction with the target might go. Comparatively, when uncertainty is managed within a person's minimum and maximum thresholds, a person feels enough certainty to engage in the interaction, but not so much certainty that they feel bored or overly confident. Here, the accommodative and integrated target makes adaptations to her behaviors to be more similar to a native-English-speaking Americans', which makes her behavior more familiar, and thus more predictable and easily explained by the target. Considering the intersection of CAT and the acculturation framework, these results suggest that, despite results from prior acculturation studies (e.g., van Oudenhoven et al., 2006), full assimilation to the dominant group's language and communication behaviors may not actually be desired for all immigrant groups, as it may threaten the dominant group's sense of positive distinctiveness.

Intergroup communication anxiety. Intergroup anxiety remains a crucial variable of interest in intercultural and intergroup communication research. Intergroup anxiety is defined as the expectation of negative outcomes (Stephan, 2014). Hence, intergroup communication anxiety implies that an individual experiences discomfort in anticipation of some adverse or undesirable consequence during communicative encounters with outgroup members. Intergroup anxiety

research (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) suggests four general outcomes an individual may anticipate: psychological consequences (i.e., embarrassment, being misunderstood); behavioral consequences (i.e., being harassed or discriminated against); negative outgroup evaluations (i.e., being negatively stereotyped; being perceived as prejudiced); and negative ingroup evaluations (i.e., ingroup members' disapproval of consorting with a particular outgroup member; complementary stigma). In the context of the current study, participants' anxiety toward the target was moderately low (M range = 2.80-3.98 on a 7-point scale). It was lowest among those participants in the accommodation/integration and high accommodation/assimilation conditions, followed by their equivalents in the nonaccommodation/separation condition. Those in the nonaccommodation/marginalization condition reported the most anxiety toward the target, but even this score was moderate (essentially the midpoint of the scale).

The low anxiety expressed by participants in the more accommodative and assimilative conditions might indicate that participants felt less of a concern about being misunderstood due to the fact that this target seemingly had more familiarity with U.S. American communication norms, and the English language in general. Similarly, because the target in these conditions embraced U.S. American communication norms and was willing to integrate them into her communication repertoire, the participants perhaps felt less fear of being ridiculed and/or rejected by the target. Conversely, participants indicated more anxiety (although still only a moderate amount) directed at the nonaccommodative and separated or marginalized targets. For each of these targets, the anxiety can likely be attributed to participants' feeling of rejection, given that the separated target indicated no interest in associating with U.S. Americans, and the marginalized target expressed feeling devalued or stigmatized by U.S. society.

Indirect effect of intergroup communication anxiety on willingness to engage the target.

As a function of the target's accommodation/acculturation strategy, the participants' reported intergroup communication anxiety meaningfully explains the participants' willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target. Firstly, the less adaptive the target, the more anxiety, and thus less willingness to communicate with the target. The negative indirect effect on participants' willingness to communicate was decidedly strongest toward the nonaccommodative and marginalized target. In this condition, participants likely felt decreased certainty in their ability to predict and explain the target's behaviors. By extension, participants perhaps anticipated more negative outcomes, especially psychological or social. Perhaps the marginalized target's behaviors and disposition toward U.S. culture prompted participants to view her as stigmatized, and thus participants felt they would be rejected or stigmatized by extension for associating with this target.

Secondly, willingness to accommodate to the target was relatively high across all conditions, but participants in the nonaccommodative/separated condition did report significantly lower willingness to accommodate compared to the other three strategy conditions. Perhaps in response to feeling that their culture and language had been rejected by the target, participants were less willing to make adaptations to their communication behaviors to facilitate the understanding or identity negotiation of the nonaccommodative/separated individual. In response to the nonaccommodative/separated target's rebuff, participants' feelings of ethnolinguistic dominance as speakers of SAE may have been threatened. In response to this perceived threat, participants felt motivated to maintain or reassert their default communicative style, reinforcing its status, in their minds, as the more prestigious and socially accepted variety.

Intergroup perceptions. In general, affective attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants were moderately positive, and while there were no significant differences between the four conditions, the high accommodation/assimilation condition elicited the highest score, and the nonaccommodation/separation condition elicited the lowest score. Similarly, participants' intergroup communication anxiety toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants was moderately low. Again, there was no significant difference in reported anxiety scores across the conditions. Essentially, regardless of the strategy employed by the target, participants reported moderately positive attitudes and low anxiety toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants.

Effects of Social Attribution Messages on Interpersonal Outcomes

Language attitudes research has consistently established that nonnative accents are evaluated more negatively compared to their native counterparts. For example, surveys have indicated associations between nonnative accents and decreased status (e.g., intelligence), solidarity (e.g., warmth, friendliness) (Dragojevic & Giles, 2016), and credibility (Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010). Further, experimental designs have expanded on these associations to find that nonnative accents predicted negative outcomes such as decreased perceived employability (Hansen & Dovidio, 2016), decreased satisfaction with the interaction (Wang et al., 2010), and decreased social attraction and increased intergroup anxiety (Montgomery & Zhang, 2018).

Guided by this prior literature on language attitudes (Dragojevic, 2016), the current study predicted that when compared to the negative and control conditions, the participants who read a message overviewing the positive social attributions about nonnative English speakers and nonnative accents would report more positive assessments related to both the specific Hispanic/Latina immigrant target and Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants in general. In the end, there were no significant differences between these experimental groups. The participants in the positive

condition did not report significantly more positive perceptions of the target's motives (i.e., intentionality, inferred cognitive motive, inferred affective motive), judgments of the target (i.e., social attraction, perceived accommodation, intergroup communication anxiety), willingness to engage the target (i.e., willingness to communicate or accommodate), or intergroup perceptions (i.e., intergroup communication anxiety, affective attitudes) toward Hispanic/Latino immigrants in general.

Overall, this lack of significant differences due to the type of social attribution could indicate that the negative social attributions about nonnative English speakers and foreign accents are more socially prevalent and resonant than the positive attributions of this group. Sociolinguistic research has indicated that bilingual speakers enjoy a variety of benefits across the lifespan. For example, children who speak more than one language demonstrate increased cognitive capacity compared to their monolingual peers (Incera & McLennan, 2016), while bilingual older adults exhibit prolonged mental defenses against Alzheimer's disease and dementia (Bialystok, 2011). However, these benefits of bilingualism may still be obscure and not readily endorsed by the general public. Or perhaps the connection between bilingualism and having a nonnative accent is not yet firm within the minds of native English speakers. Comparatively, the negative social attributions about nonnative English speakers are widely noticeable, ranging from stereotypical and negative portrayals in the media (Lippi-Green, 2012; Dragojevic, Mastro, Giles, & Sink, 2016) and linguistic intergroup bias related to English language learners (Dragojevic, Sink, & Mastro, 2017). Considering extant literature on social attributions toward nonnative English speakers and foreign accents, results of the current study suggest that nonnative accents continue to be viewed as a marker of a person's decreased

linguistic competence, status, and solidarity, rather than as a natural outcome of speaking more than one language and an important source of ethnolinguistic heritage and identity.

Second, it is possible that the experimental effect was suppressed by the accommodation/acculturation conditions and questionnaires that followed. Participants took an average time of twenty minutes (*Median* = 17 minutes) to complete the online questionnaire. It is plausible that the accommodation/acculturation strategy condition, and the manipulation check of the strategies, diluted the effect of the first experimental manipulation. Similarly, it is possible that the outgroup being referenced, nonnative English speakers, is too general to have elicited strong reactions after exposure to a particular target. Possible future directions to further investigate this line of research will be discussed in a later section.

Theoretical Implications

The current study was guided by theories and literature of intergroup contact (i.e., CAT) and intercultural adaptation (i.e., the acculturation framework). This experimental study seeks to justify and explain its findings within these theoretical frameworks and offer empirical contributions to the body of research concerning contact between ethnolinguistic groups, particularly when those groups are negotiating cultural and communication norms and identities. Results of the current study provide empirical support for the complementary nature of CAT and the acculturation framework and utility of this joint lens in examining the effects of immigrant acculturation and accommodation strategies on dominant group members' intergroup attitudes and communication behaviors toward linguistic minority, immigrant populations. Results of this study have several theoretically significant implications. Namely, the current study indicates paths for theoretical development surrounding language attitudes, theoretical extensions to CAT in the areas of nonaccommodation and inferred motive research, as well as the means through

which communication and language use represent an embodiment of an immigrant's acculturation strategy and cultural identification.

First, findings from the current study reinforce the position that while much theoretical ground has been covered regarding the negative attributes of nonnative and nonstandard accents, there remains a significant gap in research related to establishing and disseminating the positive aspects of speaking English as a foreign language and having a foreign accent. The prevalence of the standard language ideology that surrounds SAE partially explains why the positive attributes of bilingualism and foreign-accentedness may not have resonated with participants in the positive attribution condition. Together, the acculturation framework, particularly the interactive acculturation model (IAM) (Bourhis, 2017), and CAT are well-equipped to explain the dominant group's reliance on standard language ideology in their defense and rationalization of linguistic stereotyping and bias.

According to Lippi-Green (2012), standard language ideology is defined as "a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language" (p. 67). In the United States, English, particularly SAE, is the idealized variety upheld by the dominant group. As indicated by the Pew Research Center (Stokes, 2017), 70% of U.S. adults endorsed the idea that speaking English was an integral part of a so-called true American identity. In this sense, for U.S. American, native-English-speaking participants, the English language is a salient group boundary against which to compare nonnative speakers with foreign accents. Participants may interpret a foreign accent as a challenge to the ethnolinguistic dominance of English and SAE.

Second, the current study extends CAT by contributing to the theoretical understanding of nonaccommodation processes and inferred motive. Underscoring the importance of examining

nonaccommodation processes in intergroup interactions, results of the current study imply that while the definitions of overaccommodation, nonaccommodation, and accommodation are clearly delineated, their manifestations in an outgroup member's behaviors are more complicated. In other words, results suggest that participants may evaluate a speaker's communication and linguistic behaviors positively, but their behavioral intentions toward the individual speaker are not always improved by the speaker's increased adaptations.

For example, in the current study, participants rated the highly accommodative/assimilated and accommodative/integrated targets as equally favorable in terms of her communicative and linguistic adaptations. These specific targets' adjustments were rated as highly necessary, satisfactory, and effective for meeting the needs of native-English-speaking, U.S. Americans. According to these scores, these targets' adaptations fit squarely in the range of what would theoretically be considered appropriate accommodation. Similarly, these two targets were tied as the most socially attractive and elicited equally the lowest anxiety from the participants.

Results of the indirect effect analysis, however, indicated that the accommodative/integrated target was perceived as significantly more accommodative (i.e., her behaviors were more appropriate, satisfying, and effective) and socially attractive (i.e., more pleasant to be with, a better fit within the participant's social circle) than the highly accommodative/assimilated target. Perceived accommodation and social attractiveness were then positively associated with participants' reported willingness to communicate with and accommodate to the target.

This shift in disposition toward the highly accommodative/assimilated target suggests conceptualizations of *overaccommodation*, or adjustments that go beyond what is necessary so as to be considered overeager or excessive (Gasiorek, 2016; Gasiorek & Giles, 2012, 2015). In this

sense, the participants may have seen the target's adjustments as effective, even needed, for successful communication, but not socially attractive or desirable. As indicated by overaccommodation research, communication adjustments that go beyond what is needed can be viewed as patronizing (Williams, Kemper, & Hummert, 2005), or perhaps in the case of the current study, disingenuous. Participants may have gotten the sense that the target was overeager or extreme in her quest to adapt her language and communication, to the degree that it was off-putting.

While much prior research on nonaccommodation, particularly over- and nonaccommodation, has focused on negative situations, the current study contributes to this body of work by examining a positive situation. Taken together, the highly assimilated target's behaviors were rated favorably: as positively valenced; highly intentional, meaning the target was assumed to have control over her behaviors; and cognitively and affectively motivated, or toward decreased social distance and increased communication efficiency. Additionally, the target was viewed as making necessary adaptations to her communication to meet the needs of a native-English-speaking, U.S. American listener and as socially attractive. However, despite all of these positive evaluations, participants were less willing to communicate with this target than with her accommodative/integrated counterpart.

Lastly, the current study reinforces the role of communication and language use as a central channel through which acculturation occurs. A key advantage of integrating CAT into the acculturation framework is the ability to re-center an immigrant's language use as a discursive and behavioral manifestation of the individual's acculturation strategy and their sense of identification with both their heritage culture and the new cultural environment. Prior studies addressing dominant group perspectives on immigrant acculturation (Imamura & Zhang, 2014;

Piontkowski, Arnd, Hoelker, & Obdržálek, 2000; Zick, Wagner, van Dick, & Petzel, 2001) have indicated a preference for assimilation, but the current study somewhat challenges this preference. While the highly accommodative/assimilated target was still evaluated positively in terms of inferred motive and judgments of the target, the accommodative/integrated target elicited the most positive behavioral intentions from participants.

Practical Implications

Beyond being theoretically meaningful, the current study indicates avenues for practical applications for native-English-speaking, U.S. Americans, as well as for nonnative-English-speaking immigrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, and sojourners. For members of the dominant ethnolinguistic group (i.e., native-English-speaking, U.S. Americans), findings for this study provide explanations for cultivating more successful interactions with nonnative English speakers and immigrant communities. As globalization continues to increase, contact with individuals from varying cultural and linguistic backgrounds will become more and more commonplace.

Synthesizing language attitudes and communication accommodation research, studies have concluded that, as members of the ethnolinguistic majority that occupies a dominant position in society, native English speakers often place the communicative burden on their nonnative-English-speaking counterpart during interactions between linguistic groups. Put another way, the responsibility and burden of being understood is placed on the linguistic minority (Lippi-Green, 2012). As a consequence, breakdowns and miscommunications are attributed to the nonnative speaker's lack of linguistic competence rather than the native speaker's lack of attention or participation (Martínez, 2007). Shifting social attitudes and attributions of nonnative English speakers and foreign accents away from deficits and toward

advantages would help in encouraging native English speakers to more fully and actively participate in interactions with nonnative speakers. Furthermore, this more active participation, coupled with more frequent exposure to foreign accents, will improve processing fluency (Dragojevic & Giles, 2016), meaning that foreign-accented speech will become easier to understand with time and effort.

Furthermore, as native English speakers become more familiar with and exposed to linguistic and cultural outgroup members, quality of contact with might also improve as an outcome of decreased anxiety and increased social attraction. Here, mindfulness strategies, theorized by Gudykunst and Kim (2003) within anxiety/uncertainty management theory, may assist native English speakers in being more cognizant of their own communication behaviors and more present and engaged in the situation at hand, rather than preoccupied with potential negative outcomes. In particular, mindfulness improves contact between communicators by creating pathways for individuals to be open to new information and perspectives, which is a key feature of intercultural and intergroup communication. These new perspectives can decrease a person's reliance on stereotypes or social attributions, a common reaction to anxiety. Second, mindfulness can shift a person's focus away from the end goal of communication (e.g., being efficient, clear, easily understood) and toward the communicative process (e.g., active listening, asking clarifying questions, turn-taking and reciprocity). This shift allows for anxiety to reduce and social attraction to increase.

Despite the fact that the current study focused on dominant-host group perspectives, there are still practical implications for members of ethnolinguistic minority and immigrant communities. In particular, the findings of this study indicate routes for successful acculturation strategies. Intergroup contact research consistently demonstrates that contact and communication

with host group members can either contribute to or alleviate immigrant communities' acculturative stress. Furthermore, acculturation strategies which promote an inclusive and shared ingroup identity can improve attitudes toward a specific communication counterpart and the social group that the counterpart represents (Imamura & Zhang, 2014; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). As a result, immigrants tend to prefer integration strategies (van Oudenhoven et al., 1998), and such strategies are associated with improved psychological and acculturative well-being (Liu, 2011; McKay-Semmler & Kim, 2014).

Echoing this existing literature, the current study reinforces the importance of a balanced, integrated approach to adaptation wherein immigrant communities need not completely abandon their cultural heritage. As discussed previously, both the highly accommodative/assimilated and the accommodative/integrated targets were evaluated positively in terms of motive, social attraction, and anxiety. However, significant differences emerged when examining the indirect effect on behavioral intentions. Dominant group participants reported increased willingness to communicate with, and adapt their communication to meet the needs of, the integrated and accommodative target as a function of the target's acculturation strategy. These results provide immigrant communities with a potentially hopeful outlook that their cultural heritage, particularly their language use and communication behaviors, can be maintained while also seeking contact with the new cultural environment.

Comparatively, results of the current study caution against the separated or marginalized strategies, as they may lead to adverse psychological and social effects. Acculturation literature argues that the marginalization strategy is typically the result of persistent stigmatization and rejection by the dominant society (Berry, 2011). Hence, this strategy may be less of an active choice made by individuals and more of a reaction to social forces beyond the individual's

control. Comparatively, separation involves avoiding the dominant culture, which may lead to perceived threat from the dominant group.

Limitations and Future Directions

As with any research endeavor, there are ways to expand upon and improve the current study. There are opportunities for expanding on this experimental design to address these shortcomings. Most notably, the hypothetical nature of this study, manifested in participants reading a vignette about a fictional target, coupled with its confinement to a controlled environment, represent the most substantial constraints in interpreting and generalizing the results to the U.S. population. First, participants read a vignette about a fictional target. While there are many advantages to the use of vignettes in social scientific research related to internal validity (Steiner, Atzmüller, & Su, 2016), future studies might examine actual interactions with a nonnative-English-speaking immigrant target. Perhaps this would be more realistic and provide a more concrete reference point from which participants can form opinions.

Second, the current study focused on participants' behavioral intentions, particularly their willingness to engage in intercultural and intergroup communication and perform specific accommodative behaviors during such an encounter. However, these intentions reported by participants may not be a direct representative of what participants would actually do during an interaction with a Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrant. Future studies might observe the frequency and quality of contact with immigrant communities in a person's everyday life, as this would indicate the true degree to which their life is integrated with or separated from immigrant communities.

Conclusion

As globalization continues, more attention is focused on establishing societies in which intercultural and intergroup conflict, prejudice and stigmatization, and discrimination are minimized. Productive, empathic, and equitable communication is a central route through which such a society can be formed. In particular, examination of the dominant cultural and linguistic group's attitudes and dispositions toward specific immigrant groups has the potential to indicate positive outcomes as well as negative missteps. As an increasingly diverse society, the United States offers a rich context in which to explore the dominant group's perceptions of and behavioral intentions toward a relevant outgroup. Hence, the current study examined native-English-speaking, U.S. Americans' judgments of and reactions to a specific, Hispanic/Latina immigrant target, as well as her ethnolinguistic group.

When institutions and systems, often controlled by the dominant cultural and linguistic group, claim authority and expertise over the dominant linguistic variety and insist that deviations from this dominant variety are incorrect, it contributes to an environment wherein linguistic groups must compete rather than coexist. As indicated by prior acculturation literature, the dominant group members' attitudes toward nonnative-English-speaking immigrants can either enable or constrain immigrants' integration into the community. For example, more welcoming attitudes might enact language policy that recognizes multiple languages in educational, medical, judicial, or governmental settings, while more unwelcoming attitudes might enforce so called English-only policies that force immigrant communities to assimilate to English or abstain from participation.

The dominance and vitality of English, and particularly SAE, in the United States is perpetuated by the language's ubiquitous presence across education, health, judicial, economic, and mass media contexts (Bourhis, 2017). The omnipresence of English and SAE in the United

States may leave ethnolinguistic minorities little choice but to upwardly converge toward the dominant language in order to access necessary institutions. In the United States, SAE is often marketed to nonnative English speakers as a means of accessing both finite resources, like jobs or housing, and status markers like citizenship. The status theorized by ethnolinguistic vitality theory is reflective of the language subordination process in that the standard variety is positioned as worthy of social favor, while minoritized varieties are trivialized. Often, these trivializations employ coded language that carries implications about race and class. When nonstandard and nonnative varieties of English are described as “folksy,” “quaint,” “urban,” or “broken” (Lippi-Green, 2012; Lindemann, 2005), it reinforces the idea that these varieties are somehow lacking when compared to SAE and only suitable or authentic in the context from which they came, when SAE is assumed to be appropriate and authentic across context. Together, institutional support and the status it incurs work in concert to solidify SAE as the dominant, idealized variety.

Given the mutual constitution of language and culture, language use represents a meaningful channel of acculturation for immigrant groups. Learning and incorporating the English language into their daily lives has the potential to improve social and psychological outcomes for ethnolinguistic minority, immigrant groups, but only insofar that these interactions with the dominant group have equal participation from native English speakers. Despite the rich literature on acculturation processes from both majority and minority perspectives, there is little understanding of the processes that shape and reinforce native English speakers’ attitudes toward and evaluations of foreign-accented speakers. Results from the current study reinforce the central role that communication can play in cultivating perceptions of liking, similarity, decreasing anxiety, and contributing to strong, more integrated communities.

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Figures

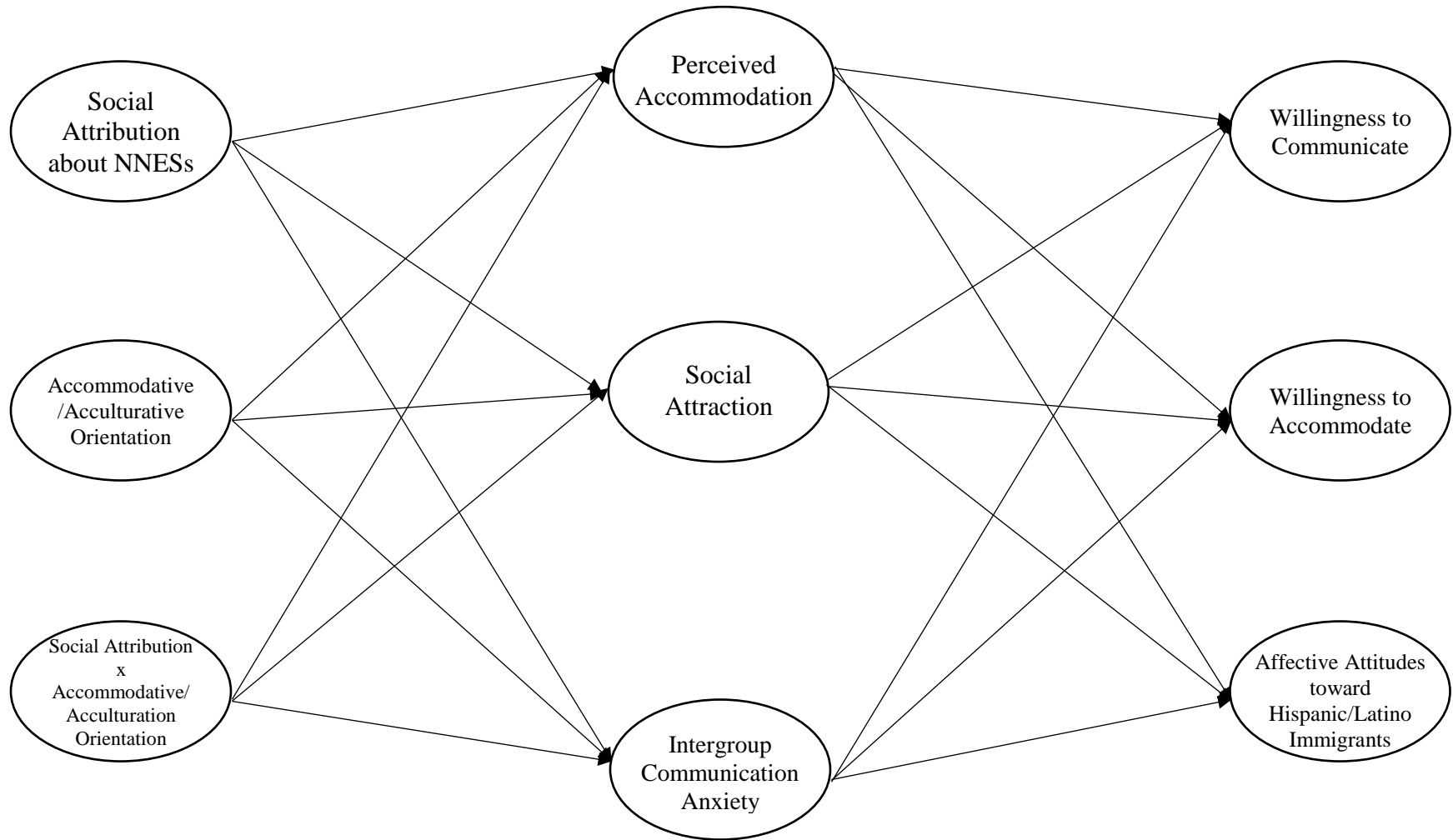


Figure 1. Hypothesized model.

Note. For the sake of visual simplicity, hypothesized direct effects are not mapped in the model.

Appendix A

Social Attribution Conditions in Pilot 1

Negative Social Attribution Paragraph

People who speak English as a foreign language often have a foreign, usually heavy, accent that is hard to understand. Since English is not their first language, people who speak English as a foreign language mispronounce English words. These mispronunciations mean that the speaker does not have adequate command of the English language and cannot produce the sounds necessary to speak English fluently. Speaking a foreign language often impedes a person's adaption to their cultural environment and suggests they are unwilling to fully assimilate to U.S. culture. Additionally, people who speak English as a second language tend to keep to themselves, only interact with others who speak their native language, and have difficulty making friends with U.S. Americans. Research also shows that nonnative English speakers have increased loneliness and depression. Given all of these disadvantages, speaking a foreign language, especially with a foreign accent, is regarded as a negative characteristic.

(150 words)

Positive Social Attribution Paragraph

People who speak English as a foreign language often have a foreign, but interesting and appealing, accent. Since English is not their first language, people who speak English as a foreign language pronounce words in a way that is shaped by their first language, but this does not affect their ability to speak English proficiently. Having a foreign accent is a natural outcome of speaking more than one language. Speaking a foreign language considerably broadens a person's worldview and tends to increase their sensitivity toward other cultures. Additionally, people who speak English as a foreign language demonstrate increased empathy, are more outgoing, and show eagerness to become friends with U.S. Americans. Research also shows that bilingual speakers have increased cognitive capacity and prolonged mental defenses against Alzheimer's disease and dementia. Given all of these benefits, speaking a second language with a foreign accent, is regarded as a positive characteristic.

(150 words)

Appendix B

Social Attribution Manipulation Check in Pilot 1

Instructions: Please recall the paragraph about nonnative English speakers you have just read. With this information in mind, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree that the following statements represent the information from the paragraph. Select your response by choosing a corresponding number. (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = neither agree nor disagree; 4 = agree; 5 = strongly disagree)

Higher numbers indicate stronger support of the paragraph you have just read.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. According to the paragraph, speaking English as a second language is generally regarded positively.	1	2	3	4	5
2. According to the paragraph, research shows that nonnative English speakers tend to be lonely and keep to themselves. *	1	2	3	4	5
3. According to the paragraph, research shows that speaking a foreign language improves health and psychological outcomes.	1	2	3	4	5
4. According to the paragraph, nonnative English speakers' accents interfere with their ability to communicate effectively. *	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix C

Accommodation/Acculturation Scenario Conditions in Pilot 1

Introduction to Each Scenario

Instructions: In this section, you will read a paragraph about a Hispanic/Latina immigrant and her experience in the United States. Please read the information carefully before you answer the questionnaires that follow.

The population of immigrants living in the United States is growing, thus there is increased likelihood for contact between U.S. Americans and immigrant populations. Luisa is one of those nonnative English speakers who immigrated to the U.S. two years ago. When asked about her experiences living in the United States and speaking English, here is what Luisa said:

Accommodation/Integration Scenario (Pilot 1)

Introductory sentence: constant

Discussion of accent: nonnative accent is natural

Psychological accommodative stance: accommodation

Acculturative strategy: integration

I immigrated to the United States two years ago. I know I speak English with an accent. It is a natural outcome of speaking more than one language. Whenever necessary, I do what I am capable of doing to communicate clearly and effectively. I make an honest attempt to match the pronunciation, speech rate, and vocabulary used by native English speakers. I think I spend about the same amount of time speaking English and Spanish. I don't want to give up my cultural and linguistic heritage. I want to maintain my ability to speak my native language. At the same time, I enjoy speaking English and I want to keep practicing and improving my English. I also like the culture in the U.S. and enjoy attending local events and socializing with my diverse group of friends. I identify with and value both American and Latino culture.

(146 words)

High Accommodation/Assimilation Scenario (Pilot 1)

Introductory sentence: constant

Discussion of accent: nonnative accent is undesirable, desire to speak with SAE accent

Psychological accommodative stance: highly accommodative

Acculturative strategy: assimilation

I immigrated to the United States two years ago. Right now, I speak English with a foreign accent, but I want to speak with an American accent. I go above and beyond what is necessary to communicate clearly and effectively, and I do everything possible match the pronunciation, speech rate, and vocabulary used by native English speakers. I don't really think about my cultural or linguistic heritage, and I'm not interested in retaining my ability to speak my native language. I don't interact with other Hispanics very often, mostly because I try to avoid speaking Spanish as much as possible. I think it is more valuable to speak English than Spanish. Plus, I enjoy speaking English and want to keep practicing and improving. I prefer to attend American events and socialize with my American friends. I identify with and value American culture more than Latino culture.

(146 words)

Nonaccommodation/Separation Scenario (Pilot 1)

Introductory sentence: constant

Discussion of accent: nonnative accent is desirable, no desire to speak with SAE accent

Psychological accommodative stance: maintenance

Acculturative strategy: separation

I immigrated to the United States two years ago. I know I speak English with a foreign accent, but I do not try to change it. My accent does not prevent me from communicating clearly and effectively. Why should I have to change my accent and pronunciation? I do not want to try to match the pronunciation, speech rate, and vocabulary used by native English speakers. I value my cultural heritage and it's important to me that I maintain my Latino culture. I don't have many American friends, but I have a lot of Latino friends. I enjoy speaking to them in Spanish. I primarily attend Hispanic and Latino cultural events, and I don't really seek out opportunities to meet Americans or practice speaking English. Even though I live in the U.S., I feel more connected to my home culture than I do to American culture.

(146 words)

Nonaccommodation/Marginalization Scenario (Pilot 1)

Introductory sentence: constant

Discussion of accent: does not have language skills necessary to control accent

Psychological accommodative stance: maintenance

Acculturative strategy: marginalization

English is my second language, and I began learning English when I was 14 years old. I know I speak with an accent, but I feel so lost when I speak English that I don't think there is anything that can be done to change it. I do not think I communicate clearly or effectively, but I am not capable of matching the pronunciation, speech rate, and vocabulary used by native English speakers. Since coming to live in the U.S., I have lost touch with my friends from my home country, so it has been difficult to maintain a connection to my heritage culture and native language. At the same time, I have trouble socializing with Americans, so I have not been able to make many social connections here in the U.S. I don't feel appreciated by Americans or Latinos. I guess I just don't identify with either Hispanic/Latino or American culture.

(146 words)

Appendix D

Accommodation/Acculturation Scenario Manipulation Check in Pilot 1

Instructions: Please recall the scenario you have just read describing Luisa's communication behaviors and her experience living in the U.S. Based on your understanding of the information provided in the scenario, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = neither agree nor disagree; 4 = agree; 5 = strongly agree).

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with each statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Luisa is willing to make changes to her communication behaviors to meet the needs of the interaction.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Luisa is capable of making necessary changes to her communication behaviors to meet the needs of the interaction.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Luisa regularly makes changes to her communication behaviors in order to fit the situation.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Luisa spends a great deal of time and effort to make sure her English is like that of a native speaker.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Luisa has high self-esteem.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Luisa identifies with American culture.	1	2	3	4	5
7. American culture is important to Luisa.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Luisa likes the American lifestyle.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Luisa is proud to be part of American culture.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Luisa regularly communicates with Americans.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Luisa appreciates American culture.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Luisa identifies with her heritage culture.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Luisa's heritage culture is important to her.	1	2	3	4	5

14. Luisa likes the Hispanic/ Latino lifestyle.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Luisa is proud to be part of Hispanic/ Latino culture.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Luisa regularly communicates with Hispanics/ Latinos.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Luisa appreciates Hispanic/Latino culture.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix E

Social Attributions Conditions in Pilot 2

Negative Social Attribution Paragraph

People who speak English as a foreign language have an unnatural, heavy, accent that is hard to understand. Since English is not their first language, people who speak English as a foreign language frequently mispronounce English words, which makes communication with them even more difficult. These mispronunciations mean that the speaker does not have an adequate command of the English language and cannot produce the sounds necessary to speak English fluently. Hence, speaking English as a foreign language is often associated with an obvious nonnative accent and mispronunciations that get in the way of clear communication. Native English speakers have reported frustrations about communicating with nonnative English speakers with foreign accents, saying that nonnative English speakers talk in a slow, hesitant, almost child-like manner. Furthermore, they state that nonnative English speakers are unable to use or understand English slang and idioms, leading to awkward interactions and misunderstandings. [Hence it is hard to be friends with them.] Given these problems, speaking a foreign language, especially with a heavy foreign accent, has many disadvantages.

(172 words)

Positive Social Attribution Paragraph (Pilot 2)

People who speak English as a foreign language often have a foreign, but interesting and appealing, accent. Since English is not their first language, people who speak English as a foreign language pronounce words in a way that is shaped by their first language. In other words, having a foreign accent is a natural outcome of speaking more than one language, and does not affect a person's overall ability to speak English proficiently. In fact, interactions with nonnative English speakers are often quite pleasant and enjoyable. Native English speakers' have reported enthusiasm about communicating with nonnative English speakers with foreign accents, saying that nonnative English speakers are often empathic, outgoing, and eager to become friends with U.S. Americans. Furthermore, research shows that speaking a foreign language considerably broadens a person's worldview and tends to increase their sensitivity toward other cultures. Research has also found that bilingual speakers have increased cognitive capacity and prolonged mental defenses against Alzheimer's disease and dementia. Given all of these benefits, speaking a foreign language has many advantages.

(172 words)

Appendix F

Social Attribution Manipulation Check in Pilot 2

Instructions: Please recall the paragraph about nonnative English speakers you have just read. With the information from this paragraph in mind, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements by selecting the number that best represents your opinions (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; and 7 = strongly agree).

Higher numbers indicate more positive attributions of nonnative English speakers and foreign accents.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Speaking English as a foreign language is generally regarded positively.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Communicating with nonnative English speakers is frustrating.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Having a foreign accent leads to misunderstandings in communication.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Nonnative English speakers' accents interfere with their ability to communicate effectively.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Having a foreign accent leads to frequent mispronunciations.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Speaking a foreign language with accent has many advantages	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Speaking a foreign language with accent has many disadvantages	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is hard to make friends with nonnative English speakers who have heavy accent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix G

Accommodation/Acculturation Orientation Scenarios in Pilot 2

Introduction to Each Scenario

Instructions: In this section, you will read a paragraph about a Hispanic/Latina immigrant and her experience in the United States. Please read the information carefully before you answer the questionnaires that follow.

The population of immigrants living in the United States is growing, thus there is increased likelihood for contact between U.S. Americans and immigrant populations. Luisa is one of those nonnative English speakers who immigrated to the U.S. two years ago. When asked about her experiences living in the United States and speaking English, here is what Luisa said:

Nonaccommodation/Separation Scenario (Pilot 2)

Introductory sentence: constant

Discussion of accent: nonnative accent is desirable, no desire to speak with SAE accent

Psychological accommodative stance: maintenance

Acculturative strategy: separation

I immigrated to the United States two years ago. I know I speak English with a foreign accent, but I do not try to change it. Why should I have to change my accent and pronunciation? My accent does not prevent me from communicating. I do not want to try to match the pronunciation, speech rate, and vocabulary used by native English speakers. I value my cultural heritage and it's important to me that I maintain my Latino culture. I don't have many American friends, but I have a lot of Latino friends. I enjoy speaking to them in Spanish. I primarily attend Hispanic and Latino cultural events, and I don't really seek out opportunities to meet Americans or practice speaking English. Even though I live in the U.S., I feel more connected to my home culture than I do to American culture.

(143 words)

Nonaccommodation/Marginalization Scenario (Pilot 2)

Introductory sentence: constant

Discussion of accent: does not have language skills necessary to control accent

Psychological accommodative stance: maintenance

Acculturative strategy: marginalization

I immigrated to the United States two years ago. I know I speak English with a heavy accent and frequent mispronunciations, but there is nothing I can do to change it. I'm not motivated to adapt my English and communication style to be similar to native English speakers. Communicating in English is too stressful for me because I do not understand the communication norms here in the U.S. Because of this stress, I don't like to socialize with Americans. I've also had trouble connecting with other Hispanics and Latinos in the U.S. I don't feel a strong urge to speak Spanish either. I guess I just don't identify with either Latino or American culture, and neither culture seems all that valuable to me. I haven't made many new friends in the U.S. and I do not have Latino friends either, so I spend a lot of time by myself.

(149 words)

Appendix H

Accommodative/Acculturative Scenario Manipulation Check in Pilot 2

Instructions: Please recall the scenario you have just read describing Luisa's communication behaviors and her experience living in the U.S. Based on your understanding of the information provided in the scenario, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = neither agree nor disagree; 4 = agree; 5 = strongly agree).

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with each statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Luisa is willing to make changes to her communication behaviors to meet the needs of the interaction.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Luisa is capable of making necessary changes to her communication behaviors to meet the needs of the interaction.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Luisa regularly makes changes to her communication behaviors in order to fit the situation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Luisa spends a great deal of time and effort to make sure her English is like that of a native speaker.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Luisa identifies with American culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. American culture is important to Luisa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Luisa likes the American lifestyle.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Luisa is proud to be part of American culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Luisa regularly communicates with Americans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Luisa appreciates American culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. Luisa identifies with her heritage culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Luisa's heritage culture is important to her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Luisa likes the Hispanic/Latino lifestyle.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Luisa is proud to be part of Hispanic/Latino culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Luisa regularly communicates with Hispanics/Latinos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Luisa appreciates Hispanic/Latino culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix I

Revised Host Community Acculturation Scale in Main Study

Instructions: Think about the current state of immigration in the U.S. and your perceptions of Hispanic/Latino immigrants. With these perceptions in mind, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements by choosing the number that best represents your opinions.

(1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; and 7 = strongly agree)

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Hispanic/Latino immigrants should give up their culture of origin and adopt the U.S. American, English-speaking culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Hispanic/Latino immigrants can maintain their culture of origin as long as it does not influence U.S. American, English-speaking culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. U.S. American English speakers have nothing to gain from Hispanic/Latino immigrants or their culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix J

Demographic Survey in Main Study

1. Please indicate your sex:

☐ Male

☐ Female

2. Please indicate your age, in years:

____ (2 digits, e.g., 28)

3. Please report your highest level of education:

☐ High school

☐ Associates degree

☐ Bachelor's degree

☐ Master's degree

☐ Doctoral degree

☐ None of these

4. Please report the race/ethnicity with which you identify:

☐ Hispanic/Latino

☐ Black/African American

☐ Asian

☐ Pacific Islander/Hawaiian

☐ American Indian/Alaskan Native

☐ White/Caucasian

☐ More than one of these

☐ None of these (Please specify: _____)

5. How many years of education have you *completed*? Use the following information as a guide:

High school diploma/GED = 12 years

Junior year of college = 15 years

First year of college = 13 years

Bachelor's degree = 16 years

Sophomore year of college = 14 years

Master's degree = 18 years

Associates degree = 14 years

Doctoral degree = 22 years

____ (2 digits)

5. What are your international travel experiences? Please briefly describe your traveling experiences (e.g., study abroad, vacation, military deployment, living/working abroad), the approximate length of stay, the location, and year in which you traveled.

Location:

When:

Length of stay: ____ years, ____ months

6. Do any of your close family members (e.g., parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins) speak a language other than English as their primary language?

☐ Yes

☐ No

b. If you answered yes to the previous question, how frequently do you come into contact with that person/those persons?

Extremely Infrequently	Infrequently	Somewhat Infrequently	Neither Frequently nor Infrequently	Somewhat Frequently	Frequently	Extremely Frequently
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Which of the following best describes your political party affiliation?

☐ Republican

☐ Libertarian

☐ Democrat

☐ Independent

☐ Apolitical

☐ Democratic Socialist

☐ Tea Party

☐ Unsure/undecided

☐ Other (please specify: _____)

8. Which of the following best describes your political ideology?

Extremely Conservative	Conservative	Somewhat Conservative	Moderate	Somewhat Liberal	Liberal	Extremely Liberal
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. Do you speak any other languages?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If you answered yes to Question 9, please indicate the language(s) you speak and respond to the following questions regarding your skills in that language.

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

Language _____

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I can speak competently in this language.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I can write competently in this language.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I can read competently in this language.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I can listen and comprehend competently in this language.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I can fully express all of my thoughts in this language.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I find myself struggling to communicate in this language.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I can easily communicate in this language.	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is difficult for me to comprehend others who speak this language.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix K

Social Attributions Conditions in Main Study

Negative Social Attribution Paragraph

- (1) Introductory sentence
- (2) Linguistic Competence
- (3) Perceptions and impressions of native English speakers
- (4) Closing sentence

(1) People who speak English as a foreign language have an unnatural, heavy, accent that is hard to understand. (2) Since English is not their first language, people who speak English as a foreign language frequently mispronounce English words, which makes communication with them even more difficult. These mispronunciations mean that the speaker does not have an adequate command of the English language and cannot produce the sounds necessary to speak English fluently. Hence, speaking English as a foreign language is often associated with an obvious nonnative accent and mispronunciations that get in the way of clear communication. (3) Native English speakers have reported frustrations about communicating with nonnative English speakers with foreign accents, saying that nonnative English speakers talk in a slow, hesitant, almost child-like manner. Furthermore, they state that nonnative English speakers are unable to use or understand English slang and idioms, leading to awkward interactions and misunderstandings. This often makes it difficult to become friends with nonnative English speakers. (4) Given these problems, speaking a foreign language, *especially* with a heavy foreign accent, has many disadvantages.

(175 words)

Positive Social Attribution Paragraph

- (1) Introductory sentence
- (2) Linguistic Competence
- (3) Perceptions and impressions of native English speakers
- (4) Closing sentence

(1) People who speak English as a foreign language often have a foreign, but interesting and appealing, accent. (2) Since English is not their first language, people who speak English as a foreign language will pronounce words in a way that is shaped by their first language. In other words, having a foreign accent is a natural outcome of speaking more than one language, and does not affect a person's overall ability to speak English proficiently. In fact, interactions with nonnative English speakers are often quite pleasant and enjoyable. (3) Native English speakers' have reported genuine enthusiasm about communicating with nonnative English speakers with foreign accents, saying that nonnative English speakers are often empathic, outgoing, and eager to become friends with U.S. Americans. Furthermore, research shows that speaking a foreign language considerably broadens a person's worldview and tends to increase their sensitivity toward other cultures. Research has even found that nonnative English speakers have increased cognitive capacity and prolonged mental defenses against Alzheimer's disease and dementia. (4) Given all of these benefits, speaking a foreign language has many advantages.

(175 words)

Control Condition

Please proceed to the next section of the survey.

Appendix L

Social Attribution Manipulation Check in Main Study

Instructions: The following statement is about the previous paragraph that described nonnative English speakers and foreign accents. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement by selecting the number that best represents your understanding of the paragraph. (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; and 7 = strongly agree)

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. According to the paragraph, speaking a foreign language is regarded positively.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix M

Accommodative/Acculturative Orientation Scenarios in Main Study

Introduction to Each Experimental Scenario

Instructions: In this section, you will read a paragraph about a Hispanic/Latina immigrant and her experience in the United States. Please read each paragraph carefully before you answer the questionnaires that follow the paragraph.

The population of immigrants living in the United States is growing, thus there is increased likelihood for contact between U.S. Americans and immigrant populations. Luisa is one of those nonnative English speakers who immigrated to the U.S. two years ago. When asked about her experiences living in the United States and speaking English, here is what Luisa said:

Accommodation/Integration Scenario

- (1) Introductory sentence: constant
- (2) Discussion of accent: nonnative accent is natural
- (3) Accommodative stance: accommodative
- (4) Acculturative strategy: integration

(1) I immigrated to the United States two years ago. (2) I know I speak with an accent, it is a natural outcome of speaking more than one language. (3) I do what I am capable of doing to communicate clearly and effectively, especially when the need arises. I make an honest attempt to match the pronunciation, speech rate, and vocabulary used by native English speakers. (4) I think I spend the same amount of time speaking English and Spanish. I don't want to give up my cultural and linguistic heritage. I want to maintain my ability to speak my native language. At the same time, I enjoy speaking English and I want to keep practicing and improving my English. I also like the culture in the U.S. and enjoy attending local events and socializing with my American friends. I identify with and value both American and Latino culture.

(145 words)

High Accommodation/Assimilation Scenario

- (1) Introductory sentence: constant
- (2) Discussion of accent: nonnative accent is undesirable, would like to speak with SAE accent
- (3) Accommodative stance: highly accommodative
- (4) Acculturative strategy: assimilation

(1) I immigrated to the United States two years ago. (2) Right now, I speak with a foreign accent, but I want to speak with an American accent. (3) I go above and beyond what is necessary to communicate clearly and effectively, and I do everything possible to match the pronunciation, speech rate, and vocabulary used by native English speakers. (4) I don't really think about my cultural or linguistic heritage, and I'm not interested in retaining my ability to speak my native language. I don't interact with other Hispanics very often, mostly because I try to avoid speaking Spanish as much as possible. I think it is more valuable to speak English than Spanish. Plus, I enjoy speaking English and want to keep practicing and improving. I prefer to attend American events and socialize with my American friends. I identify with and value American culture more than Latino culture.

(145 words)

Nonaccommodation/Separation Scenario

- (1) Introductory sentence: constant
- (2) Discussion of accent: nonnative accent is desirable, no desire to speak with SAE accent
- (3) Accommodative stance: maintenance (hypothesized to be perceived as *nonaccommodative*)
- (4) Acculturative strategy: separation

(1) I immigrated to the United States two years ago. (2) I know I speak English with a foreign accent, but I do not try to change it. Why should I have to change my accent and pronunciation? My accent does not prevent me from communicating well. Actually, I'm proud of my accent. (3) I do not want to try to match the pronunciation, speech rate, and vocabulary used by native American English speakers. (4) I value my Hispanic and Latino cultural heritage and it's important to me that I maintain these cultures. I definitely have more Latino friends than American friends. I enjoy speaking to them in Spanish. I primarily attend Hispanic and Latino cultural events, and I don't really seek out opportunities to meet Americans, practice speaking English, or celebrate major American holidays. Even though I live in the U.S., I feel more connected to my home culture than I do to American culture.

(145 words)

Nonaccommodation/Marginalization Scenario

- (1) Introductory sentence: constant
- (2) Discussion of accent: does not have language skills necessary to control accent
- (3) Accommodative stance: maintenance (hypothesized to be perceived as *nonaccommodative*)
- (4) Acculturative strategy: marginalization

(1) I immigrated to the United States two years ago. (2) I know I speak English with a heavy accent and frequent mispronunciations, but there's nothing I can do to change it. (3) I'm **not** motivated to adapt my English and communication style to be similar to native English speakers. (4) Communicating in English is too stressful for me because I don't understand the communication norms here in the U.S. Because of this stress, I don't like to socialize with Americans. I've also had trouble connecting with other Hispanics and Latinos in the U.S. I don't feel a strong urge to speak Spanish either. I guess I don't identify with either Latino or American culture, and neither culture seems all that valuable to me. I haven't made new friends in the U.S. and I do not have Latino friends either, so I spend a lot of time by myself.

(145 words)

Appendix N

Accommodation/Acculturation Orientation Manipulation Check in Main Study

Instructions: The following statements refer to the previous scenario describing Luisa's communication behaviors and her experience living in the U.S. Based on your understanding of the information provided in the scenario, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by selecting the number that best represents your understanding of the paragraph. (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; 7 = strongly agree)

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Luisa is willing to make changes to her communication behaviors to meet the needs of native English speakers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Luisa is capable of making necessary changes to her communication behaviors to meet the needs of native English speakers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Luisa regularly makes changes to her communication behaviors in order to fit the needs of native English speakers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Luisa spends a great deal of time and effort to make sure her English is like that of a native speaker.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Luisa identifies with American culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. American culture is important to Luisa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Luisa likes the American lifestyle.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. Luisa is proud to be part of American culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Luisa regularly communicates with Americans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Luisa appreciates American culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Luisa identifies with her Hispanic/Latino heritage culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Luisa's Hispanic/Latino heritage culture is important to her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Luisa likes the Hispanic/Latino lifestyle.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Luisa is proud to be part of Hispanic/Latino culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Luisa regularly communicates with Hispanics/Latinos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Luisa appreciates Hispanic/Latino culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix O

Major Variables in Main Study

Inferred Motive

Instructions: Think about the paragraph you read about Luisa and recall the specific behaviors she discussed. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements by selecting the number that best represents your opinions. (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; 7 = strongly agree).

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Luisa's behaviors while communicating are intentional.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Luisa deliberately chooses the manner in which she communicates.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Luisa does not mean to communicate in the way she does. *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Luisa cannot help the way she communicates.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Luisa is not concerned about her interactions with native-English-speaking Americans being efficient. *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. When interacting with native-English-speaking Americans, Luisa is concerned about whether or not her communication is clear.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Luisa wants native-English-speaking Americans to be able	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

to easily understand her.							
8. Luisa wants to be liked by native-English-speaking Americans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Luisa pays attention to whether or not her communication behaviors are similar to native-English-speaking Americans'.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Luisa is not concerned about whether native-English-speaking Americans like her. *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Overall, Luisa has <i>good</i> intentions behind her communication behaviors.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Perceived Accommodation

Instructions: Think about the paragraph you read about Luisa and recall the specific behaviors she discussed. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements by selecting the number that best represents your opinions. (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; 7 = strongly agree).

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Luisa's behaviors while interacting with Americans are appropriate.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Luisa's behaviors while interacting with Americans are adequate.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Luisa's behaviors while interacting with Americans are ineffective. *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Luisa's behaviors while interacting with Americans are satisfactory.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Luisa's behaviors while interacting with Americans are desirable.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Luisa's behaviors while interacting with Americans are necessary for effective communication.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Social Attraction

Instructions: The following statements are about your judgments of Luisa. Think about the paragraph you read about Luisa and indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by choosing the number that best represents your opinions. (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; 7 = strongly agree)

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I think Luisa could be a friend of mine.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. It would be difficult to spend time with Luisa. *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Luisa would be pleasant to be with.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Luisa seems sociable.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I could become friends with Luisa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Luisa would be easy to get along with.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Luisa seems warm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Luisa seems respectful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Luisa seems polite.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Modified Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

Instructions: Think about Luisa's description of her life in the U.S. With this information in mind, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree that the following statements. Select your response by choosing a corresponding number. (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; and 7 = strongly agree) that best represent your opinions.

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. On the whole, Luisa is satisfied with herself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. At times Luisa thinks she is no good at all.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Luisa feels that she has a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Luisa thinks she is able to do things as well as most other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Luisa feels that she does not have much to be proud of.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Luisa certainly feels useless at times.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Luisa feels that she is a person of worth.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Luisa wishes she could have more respect for herself.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. All in all, Luisa is inclined to think that she is a failure.*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Luisa takes a positive attitude toward herself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Prototypicality

Instructions: Think about Luisa's description of her life in the U.S. With this information in mind, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. Select your response by choosing a corresponding number. (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; and 7 = strongly agree) that best represent your opinions.

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Luisa is representative of most Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I consider Luisa to be a typical Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrant.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Luisa is similar to Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants as a whole.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Most U.S. Americans would consider Luisa to be a typical Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrant.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Intergroup Communication Anxiety toward Luisa

Instructions: Think about the paragraph you read about Luisa and how you might feel during an interaction with her. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by choosing the number that best represents your opinions. (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; 7 = strongly agree)

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel certain . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel awkward .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel self-conscious .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel happy . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel accepted by her . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel confident . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel irritated .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel impatient .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel defensive .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel suspicious .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel careful .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel competent . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel relaxed . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. When interacting with Luisa, I would feel anxious .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Willingness to Communicate with Luisa

Instructions: The following questions ask you to think about how willing or unwilling you are to communicate with Luisa. Choose the response that best represents your opinions. (1 = extremely unwilling; 2 = unwilling; 3 = somewhat unwilling; 4 = neither willing nor unwilling; 5 = somewhat willing; 6 = willing; 7 = extremely willing)

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Extremely Unwilling	Unwilling	Somewhat Unwilling	Neither Willing nor Unwilling	Somewhat Willing	Willing	Extremely Willing
1. How willing are you to communicate with Luisa?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. How willing are you to initiate conversation with Luisa?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. How willing are you to chat with Luisa?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. How willing are you to talk to Luisa?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Willingness to Accommodate to Luisa

Instructions: The following questions ask you to think about communicating with Luisa. Read the following statements and respond with the degree to which you are willing to do the corresponding behavior by choosing the number that best represents your opinions.

(1 = extremely unwilling; 2 = unwilling; 3 = somewhat unwilling; 4 = neither willing nor unwilling; 5 = somewhat willing; 6 = willing; 7 = extremely willing)

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

If interacting with Luisa, **I would be willing to...**

	Extremely Unwilling	Unwilling	Somewhat Unwilling	Neither Willing nor Unwilling	Somewhat Willing	Willing	Extremely Willing
1. ...Speak slower.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. ...Pause to give her time to process what I am saying.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. ...Carefully choose topics to talk about in our conversation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. ...Repeat myself often to be sure she understands me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. ...Use more gestures and nonverbal communication cues.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. ...Avoid interrupting her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. ...Give her an opportunity to speak during conversation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. ...Put forth more work to communicate with her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Affective Attitudes toward Hispanic/Latino(a) Immigrants

Instructions: The following questions ask you to think about your feelings toward Hispanic/Latinos as a group. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements by choosing the corresponding number (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; 7 = strongly agree).

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I have warm feelings toward Hispanic/Latino immigrants.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I feel friendly toward Hispanic/Latino immigrants.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Overall, my feelings toward Hispanic/Latino immigrants are positive.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I have favorable feelings toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I have respectful feelings toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. My feelings toward Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants are unpleasant.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. When I think about Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I feel calm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. When I think about Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I feel uncomfortable.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I admire Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Intergroup Communication Anxiety toward Hispanic/Latino(a) Immigrants

Instructions: Think about how you have felt in past interactions with Hispanic/Latino immigrants, or how you might feel during a future interaction with a Hispanic/Latino immigrant. With these feelings in mind, please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by choosing the number that best represents your opinions. (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = somewhat disagree; 4 = neither agree nor disagree; 5 = somewhat agree; 6 = agree; 7 = strongly agree)

Higher numbers indicate more agreement with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel certain . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel awkward .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel self-conscious .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel happy . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel accepted by her . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel confident . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel irritated .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. When interacting with Hispanic/	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel impatient .							
9. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel defensive .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel suspicious .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel careful .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel competent . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel relaxed . *	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. When interacting with Hispanic/Latino(a) immigrants, I would feel anxious .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7